

# FRAY JUAN BAUTISTA SANCHO

## Tracing the Origins of California's First Composer and the Early Mission Style

### PART II

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SANCHO AND THE "OATH OF LOYALTY"  
At the same time that Sancho, Cabot, and the neophytes at Mission San Antonio were razing the old church and building a new one, so were the old governance foundations being demolished and new systems being built from the ground up. The war for Mexican independence began in 1810, the same year that the new Mission San Antonio church's foundation was poured. Mexico separated from the Mother Country in 1821; Don Agustín Fernández de San Vicente raised the new Mexican flag in Santa Bárbara in 1822; and Mexico's new constitution of 1824 acknowledged Alta California as Mexican (not Spanish) territory.<sup>1</sup> This threw the friars and the Mexican authorities into an unsettled

limbo, for nearly all of the Franciscans up to that time were native-born Spaniards and their allegiance toward a newly constituted Mexican government was dubious. A whirlpool of decrees and demands circulated through the missions in the late 1820s. On June 3, 1826, Governor Echeandía sent word to the four military forts or *presidios* that the commanders were to travel to all of the missions and secure a signed oath of loyalty from each friar. In a letter dated August 11, 1829, Echeandía summarized the friars' viewpoints, including the nineteen dissenting voices of Spanish loyalists.<sup>2</sup> His report indicated that Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta and Narciso Durán—known as two of the most musical friars—staked out a defiant stance. Similarly, Cabot and Sancho desired to remain faithful to the Spanish crown, but they did not want to antagonize the Mexican authorities. The two finessed the situation by stating they would be law-abiding citizens but simultaneously would not violate their previous promise to their king. As Echeandía's report stated:

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<sup>1</sup>Consult Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535–1846* (Santa Clara, California: Santa Clara University and Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2001), 313 ff.; Angustias de la Guerra Ord, *Occurrences in Hispanic California*, trans. and ed. by Francis Price and William H. Ellison (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956), 9–10; and Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands and Around the World in the Years 1826–1829*, trans. and ed. by August Frugé and Neal Harlow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 191–92, fn 8 and 9.

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<sup>2</sup>Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco: James H. Barry Co., 1913), 3: 244, 269–73; Engelhardt, *San Antonio*, 55.

Fr. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta: age 49 years old; he took the oath [of allegiance] in 1826, but now claims loyalty to the King of Spain.

Fr. Pedro Cabot: 49 years old; good health and strict religious conduct; refused to take the oath because had sworn fidelity to Fernando VII, but he will obey the authorities.

Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho: 57 years of age; health not good; agrees with Fr. Cabot.

Fr. Narciso Durán: age 51 and 11 months; good health; he declined to swear allegiance.<sup>3</sup>

We see, then, that Governor Echeandía's attempt to obtain the sworn allegiance of the Fathers achieved mixed results. In spite of the opposition he encountered from several padres, he nevertheless urged a certain tolerance for their views, and was reluctant to pursue their expulsion from Mexican territory as his superiors commanded. He wrote back to Mexico City, urging that the government turn a blind eye to the friars' non-compliance and astutely recognizing the contribution they were making toward the stability and growth of these remote California outposts. He argued:

There are twenty-one missions, but only three Mexican friars; the others are Spaniards, who by their industry have placed the missions in a state of actual wealth. If unhappily the missions should be deprived of these Fathers we should see the population in a lamentable condition for want of subsistence.<sup>4</sup>

Echeandía's warning proved to be sadly prophetic, for with the implementation of secularization in the 1830s and the expulsion of Spanish Fathers, the prosperous missions collapsed into disastrous ruin.

Several works in Sancho's private music collection reflect his loyalist political leanings. The hodge-podge of pieces scribbled into "blank" measures in the *Artaserse* manuscript presently housed at Mission San Fernando contains, on

<sup>3</sup>Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 3: 270-72.

<sup>4</sup>Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 3: 273-74.

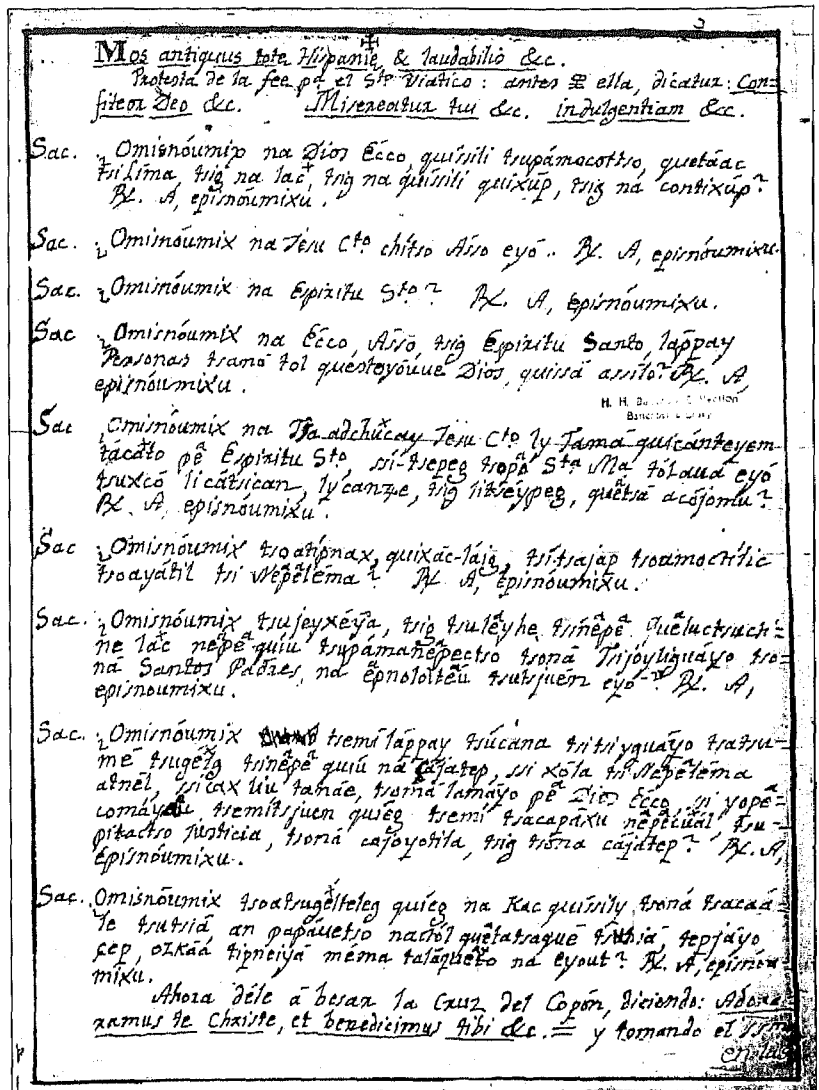


Photo A: Fray Juan Sancho's translation of the "Last Rites." Bancroft manuscript C-C 73:17. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

folio 11v, the rousing "España de la guerra" that sings the praises of the heroic Spanish against the French invaders under Napoleon.<sup>5</sup> The text reads:

<sup>5</sup>This book is part of the collection discovered by Koegel in 1991 at the San Fernando Mission Archive and is treated by Bill Summers in great detail in his article "Opera seria in Spanish California." Summers has shown that the main work that extends across the pages is an aria from the Metastasian libretto *Artaserse* (continued)

Oh Spain of war, her banner waves  
against the infamous power of the vile Napoleon!

Hear his crimes, listen to the treachery!—  
yes, the treachery which has covered the face  
of the world in horror.

To arms, to arms, Spaniards!  
Death to Napoleon, and long live  
King Fernando, our Homeland, and Religion!<sup>6</sup>  
(See Photo B.)

A second piece in the anthology, “Quando Fernando se ausenta,” shows similar leanings:

When King Fernando stays away, Spain sighs, “ay,  
ay, ay!”

And between anguish and yearning,  
she deliriously cries “ay, ay, ay!”

Unhappy that I am. Oh, when will he come back  
on his own? Ay, ay, ay!<sup>7</sup>

(See Photo C.)

The setting is typical of much of the California repertoire with its vocal duet—consisting entirely of parallel thirds—notated on one staff in the bass clef and cut time.<sup>8</sup> The main melody is the

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*erse*. Summers catalogues the book as “As-3” from Table 14.1 from the aforementioned article, p. 272. From here on, I refer to this book as the “*Artaserse* manuscript, As-3.”

<sup>6</sup>“España de la guerra trémola su pendón / contra el poder ynfame del vil Napoleón. / Sus crímenes ohid, escuchad la traición, / si la traición con q<sup>e</sup> á la Faz del mundo / se ha cubierto de horror! / ¡A la guerra, a la guerra, españoles! / Muera Napoleón, / y viva el Rey Fernando, la Patria y Reli[g]ión.” *Artaserse* manuscript, As-3, fol. 11v, staves 1–4.

<sup>7</sup>“Quando Fernando se ausenta, España suspira, ay ay ay, ay ay ay / y entre cõgojas y ancias así delira, ay ay ay / Infelice de mí ay si, cuando vendrá por sí, ay ay, ay ay ay ay.” *Artaserse* manuscript, As-3, fol. 5v, lines 1–3.

<sup>8</sup>This efficient notation system of writing duet textures on a single staff permeates nearly all of the choral books in California that use “squared” mensural notation, where the note heads are squares and diamonds. Sancho’s notated example of “Quando Fernando se ausenta” in the *Artaserse* manuscript has a slightly modified notational style where modern quarter notes and half notes are stacked up. This practice recurs as well, particularly with selections written down by Sancho in the *Artaserse* manuscript, including: “O que humilde escuchas te [*sic*] al paraninfo,” fol. 1, line 2; “Grande fue la agonía,” fol. 1, line 3; “Fratres, fratres sobrii es tote,” fol. 4v, lines 1, 3, 5; “Domine ad adiuvandum,” fol. 5, line 1; Doxology ending, “et in saecula seculorum, Amen,” fol. 5, line 5; “Marcha Suiza,” fol. 6v, lines 1–2;

lower voice, as implied by the larger note heads, whereas the higher voice is obviously the supplemental one, as is indicated by its note heads, which are half the size. Not only is this ditty written out in Sancho’s hand, but so is the next tune on the same page, “Si queris mirácula más error calimitar.” The notational conventions shift radically from the “modern” half notes and quarter notes seen in “Quando Fernando se ausenta” to

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“En lo frondoso de un verde prado,” fol. 7, lines 1–2; “Para vuestro Pueblo,” fol. 8, lines 1–3; “¡O mi Dios! ¡O mi Dios! si ausentáis,” fol. 8v, lines 8–9; “Santo, santo, santo, Dios de los exercitos” fol. 9, lines 1–5; and “Ten mi bien, mi amor, misericordia,” fol. 10v, lines 1–3. In addition, there are at least two instances of this same procedure in the hand of Sancho’s compatriot and friend, Pedro Cabot. One example in Cabot’s hand is “Si milagros buscas” found in the *Artaserse* manuscript on fol. 6, lines 1–4. Another example of single-staff polyphony using quarter notes and half notes in Pedro Cabot’s handwriting is found in “In caelesti Hierarchia,” Santa Clara Ms. 1, fol. 1, lines 8–9. Note: there are different numbering systems for the four mission music sources at Santa Clara University. The microfilm that is available through the Archives in the Orradre Library of Santa Clara University lists this as Mission Manuscript 1. Beryl Hoskin, on p. 46 of *A History of the Santa Clara Mission Library* (Oakland, California: Biobooks, 1961), identifies this same source as Mission Manuscript No. 4 (not No. 1). Adding to the potential confusion, Arthur Dunning Spearman, S.J., who at one time was the archivist at Santa Clara University, has yet another numbering system, calling the source Mission Manuscript No. 3. See Spearman, *The Five Franciscan Churches of Mission Santa Clara, 1777–1825* (Palo Alto, California: The National Press, 1963), esp. 153–54. In short, the microfilm identification sequence and those of Hoskin and Spearman do not correspond; I have chosen to use the microfilm sequence of numberings. In addition to the Mission Manuscript No. 1 at Santa Clara University, there is an unmistakable connection between Pedro Cabot and Mission Manuscript No. 3 (which is No. 2 in Hoskins and No. 4 in Spearman), for there is a major grouping of large music folios—plus several small sheets that occur intermittently—all in the hand of Cabot. Both the way these sheets are sewn into the binding and the context of these pages with respect to everything else demonstrate that the Cabot sheets were originally conceived as part of this larger volume and not mere additions at a later date. According to Hoskin (on p. 45), there is an annotation signed by Florencio Ibáñez on p. 83 of the choir book that shows him to have been the other copyist; “8 de Junio de 1812 se acabaron estos 15 pliegos en Lunes y Luna 29, visperas de conjunction. Ibáñez.” Now, through handwriting analysis, it can be demonstrated that Cabot also contributed to this choir book and that these two padres were working in collaboration.

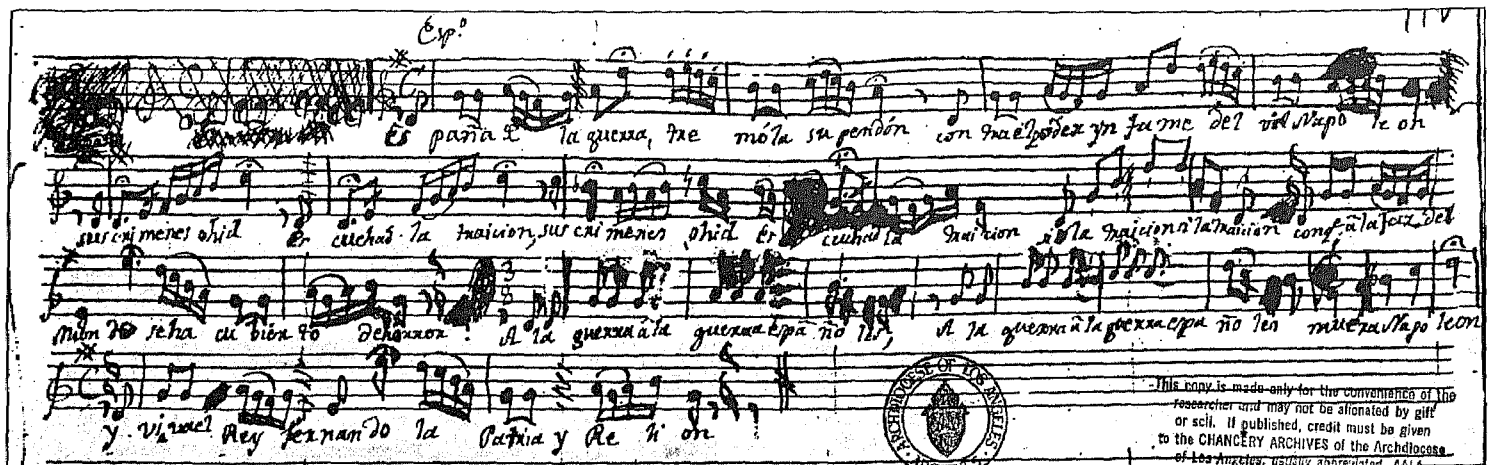


Photo B (top): "España de la Guerra." Artaserse manuscript As-3 in San Fernando Mission Archive, fol. 11v.

Photo C (bottom): "Quando Fernando se ausenta." Artaserse manuscript As-3 in San Fernando Mission Archive, fol. 5v. Both courtesy of San Fernando Mission Archive.

"hollow" plainchant notation for "Si queris mirácula más error calimitar." Its text is associated with the Feast Day of San Antonio, reinforcing the possibility that this was used at Mission San Antonio during Sancho's tenure there.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Artaserse manuscript, As-3, fol. 5v, lines 4-6. This work, "Si queris mirácula," appears in a concordant version in folder 76 of the WPA Collection at the University of California at Berkeley. It bears the title "Responsori[u]m D[omi]ni Antonii (continued)"

A third piece in the *Artaserse* manuscript (“¡Viva Fernando! ¡Napoleón muera!”) yet again proclaims a nationalistic bent, proclaiming King Fernando VII and casting Napoleon as the invading villain: “Long live Fernando! Death to Napoleon! May Spain triumph! And may the war end!”<sup>10</sup> In short, Sancho was loyal to Church and

Patronini constans ex 3 vocibus (Responsory for Patron Saint Anthony, consisting of 3 voices),” which clarifies its association with the feast day of Saint Anthony. The folder contains photos for four different performance parts: there are the 3 voice lines (soprano, alto, bass) plus a separate accompaniment line that resembles the vocal bass line once in a while, but not always. Also, it should be observed that sometimes the soprano (triple) line has two notes stacked above each other, over the same word, an unmistakable indication of *divisi* at those points where two vocal lines split. In truth, then, the folder is a kind of five-part setting with at least *two* sopranos (since there are glimpses of *divisi* passages), alto, bass, and accompaniment. A comparison of the chant melody from the *Artaserse* manuscript and the soprano line of the version in folder 76 of the WPA Collection, reveals that the tune was carefully preserved in the modern polyphonic setting but given a clearly metric rendition. Summers has suggested that “Si queris mirácula” found in folder 76 of the WPA Collection might have been composed by Sancho while at Mission San Antonio, observing that it would have been appropriate for the Feast Day of San Antonio de Padua, celebrated every year on June 13. See Summers: “Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources,” *Ars Musica Denver*, 22–23; “Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources,” *Revista de musicología*, 285; and “Fray Juan Bautista Sancho,” Foundation Monograph Publication No. 1, 9–10. This is a possibility, but his case would be strengthened if this work were notated in Sancho’s handwriting, and unfortunately neither the musical idiosyncrasies nor the text script matches Sancho’s notational habits. I offer another possibility—that this polyphonic setting was brought by Sancho from the Franciscan Convent of San Antonio in Artà where he had done his youthful studies, or perhaps simply from the Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma (which surely would have honored Saint Anthony’s feast day with special music and other celebrations). I think a Mallorcan provenance is more likely than a California one. For the complete text in both Latin and English, consult the web site: “Si quaeris, Antyфона—Antiphone, Do\_W. Antoniego Padewskiego—To St. Anthony of Padua,” page created on May 11, 2002, consulted on May 9, 2004, <<http://www.rosary-hour.net/Siqueaeris.html>>. For clarification about the WPA Collection, see footnote 46 in Part I of this article.

<sup>10</sup>*Artaserse* manuscript, As-3, fol. 12v, line 1 and last half of lines 4 and 5. “Viva Fernando, Napoleón muera, Triunfe España y cese la guerra.” This work is also a duet (in triple meter), but it is notated on two staves rather than one, both staves using bass clef. The upper melodic line is notated twice on the page, the

Crown for his entire life, in spite of pressure exerted on him while at Mission San Antonio to accommodate new political winds blowing through the Spanish Empire.

#### SANCHO AND CABOT’S DESCRIPTION OF MUSIC-MAKING AT MISSION SAN ANTONIO

Cabot and Sancho paint a colorful picture of musical life at Mission San Antonio in 1814. They had been requested by Secretary of Foreign Relations Don Ciríaco González Carvajal to respond to thirty-six questions in an *Interrogatorio* or “Questionnaire” that covered most aspects of mission life, including music.<sup>11</sup> The request was funneled through appropriate channels, first to the Bishop of Sonora, who passed it along to the Father President of the California missions, Fr. José Seán, who subsequently saw to it that each mission received the missive. Eighteen responses were compiled, all of which survive except for the report from Mission La Purísima Concepción.<sup>12</sup> The Fathers at each mission were remarkably careful and thorough in their responses between 1812 and 1814, and Seán compiled his summary of their efforts on August 11, 1815.<sup>13</sup>

first time in an unadorned fashion (line 1) and a second time with some added ornamentation in dotted rhythms (the last half of line 4). Both Koegel and Summers have previously dug into the political ramifications of this work and placed it in the context of Sancho’s life. Also, Koegel supplies a transcription of the work. See Koegel, “Spanish Mission Music,” 89–90; and Summers, “*Opera seria* in Spanish California,” 274.

<sup>11</sup>Maynard Geiger gives the complete text of the *Interrogatorio* in both Spanish and English translation in “Documents: Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812 Concerning the Native Culture of the Indians,” *The Americas*, vol. 5, no. 4 (April 1949): 474–81. The *Interrogatorio* is thoroughly discussed in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 3: 10–16. Owen da Silva treats the music portions of the *Interrogatorio* in some detail in English translation and analysis (but without the original Spanish for comparison) in his *Mission Music of California: A Collection of Old California Mission Hymns and Masses* (Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis, 1941, reprint in 1954), 4–6.

<sup>12</sup>Most of these reports are presently housed at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, and the folders with facsimiles of the original reports generally include a typescript in English translation of the Spanish original.

Not all of the Fathers saw the questions from the same perspective. For instance, many only addressed European traditions when asked about musical practices at their mission and avoided any mention of indigenous traditions. But that was not the case with Cabot and Sancho in their response dated February 26, 1814. They spent as much time discussing the music systems and instruments that they encountered in this new land as they did describing the Spanish sacred traditions that they had brought with them. This open and inclusive attitude regarding the Native American cultures reinforces what we had learned of Sancho from his catechism translations, his translation of the Last Rites, and his final diary entry that includes Native American words. Clearly, he respected and admired his Native American brethren, for he learned their languages and their musical traditions. The snapshot of musical life at San Antonio that Sancho and Cabot recorded in their answer to the *Interrogatorio* is fascinating:

Question 32 regarding Music:

The neophytes have considerable musical talent, and they play violins, cello, flutes, horn, drum, and other instruments that the Mission has given them [implying that there were even more kinds of instruments available and that they collectively comprised a full orchestra]. From their pagan days they preserve a flute, which they play like a recorder. It is entirely open-ended from top to bottom. It measures five palms in length, but others measure no more than three palms. It can form eight pitches with perfection. They perform various instrumental numbers, almost all in the same meter, the majority of which are happy. It normally has eleven holes, but sometimes there are more and sometimes fewer. They have another string instrument that is nothing more than a bow made out of a stick, which is then strung with animal gut; and it creates a single note. They have no other instruments. They have many songs, some are used to accompany their dances, while others

are separate and independent. Not being professional musicians we are not able to send [notated] examples of these songs, but we do know that they sing using different terminal pitches and with different scale systems. These scales go up and down, using the intervals of seconds, thirds, fourths, fifths, and also octaves [but not employing the intervals of sixths or sevenths]. [In their traditional music, the Native American converts] *never* sing independent polyphonic lines; but when many sing together, some of them do sing an octave higher. Almost all of their songs are happy, but they have some that are sad in parts. In all of these songs, they do not tell a story or make a clearly discernable point: instead, they only use isolated words, naming birds or familiar place-names, etc. And from their ancient past, they have always sung these songs and used the two aforementioned instruments. The Indian converts sing Spanish lyrics perfectly, and they easily learn every kind of singing that is taught to them, *canto llano* or plainchant as well as the metric singing of *canto figurado* [and accompanied by instruments]. Also, they can successfully perform as a choir, or even manage to sing a polyphonic Mass with separate, independent melodic lines—as long as there are the necessary performance parts. In all this they are aided by a clear voice and good ear which they all have, both men and women alike.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup>“32 [sic = should be 33]. Tienen mucha inclinacion á la Musica, y tocan violines, violon, flautas, trompa, tambora, y otros instrumentos que la Mision les ha dado; de su Gentilidad conservan una flauta, la que se toca como la dulce, está toda abierta de arriba á bajo, tiene 5.. qtas de largo, (otras tienen como 3.. qtas no mas) forma 8. puntos con perfeccion, tocan varias tocatas casi todas de un mismo compás, las mas son alegres; tiene 11.. agujeros, otras mas, ó menos. Tienen otro instrumento de cuerda, que se reduce á un arco de palo, al que se la amarra un nervio de animal, y forma un punto; y no tienen mas instrumentos. Tienen muchas canciones para cantar en sus bayles, y fuera de ellos tambien; mas por no ser Musicos de profesion, no podemos mandar exemplar de ellas; pero si conocemos, que cantan por varios terminos, y tienen varios tonos; suben y bajan, ya segundas, ya terceras, ya quartas, ya quintas, ya octavas; y nunca cantan á voces, si solamente quando cantan muchos juntos, algunos van octava alta. Las canciones, las mas son alegres, tienen algunas de tristes en parte: en todas las dichas canciones, no forman proposicion alguna, solo usan palabras sueltas nombrado Aves, lugares de sus tierras, etc. y desde su gentilidad, siempre las han usado, è igualmente los dos referidos instrumentos. (continued)

<sup>13</sup>Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 3: 16

Several aspects of this description merit closer scrutiny. That Cabot and Sancho had an orchestra at San Antonio is illuminated by their opening sentence that spotlights the instruments they were using. Significantly, some of the names that they jot down are plural and others are singular, a detail that da Silva and Geiger miss; the preponderance of treble instruments that are in the plural (violins and flutes) suggests that they were doubling with more than one instrument on a part. The lower register, on the other hand, apparently was slugging it out with a single cello (or perhaps a bassoon or string bass added to the soup as one of the “otros instrumentos” to which Cabot refers). The top-dominated instrumentation with multiple violins is one of the main characteristics of a Classical-Period orchestra, as opposed to a mere rag-tag collection of instruments that happen to be present at a particular institution or venue.<sup>15</sup> That instrumentation looks remarkably similar to the Spanish “orchestras” from the era. The theater

orchestra in eighteenth-century Valladolid, for instance, consisted of four violins, two horns, two flutes, a cello, and a bass. The opera orchestra in Granada in 1770 consisted of four violins, cello, bassoon, oboe, two horns, and guitar. The orchestra in the Chapel of the Royal Palace in Valencia in 1776 consisted of four violins, viola, cello, bass, a pair of flutes (that doubled on oboe), a pair of horns (that doubled on trumpet), and bassoon. Finally, the orchestra in the Cathedral of Salamanca had by 1740 a top-dominated ensemble of four violins, oboe, flute, *flauta dulce* (a recorder), *flauta de pico* (a smaller recorder), cello, bass, organ, harp, and perhaps some of the older wind instruments from the older “antique” style.<sup>16</sup> Cabot and Sancho were not just giving a haphazard grocery list of instruments in the marketplace; they were telling us that they had a full Classical-Period orchestra that could handle anything in the *estilo moderno* of Haydn or Mozart and their equivalents in the Spanish Empire of Francisco Corselli, Ignacio de Jerusalem, and Francisco Delgado.

William Summers reproduces an inventory of instruments from San Antonio registered in 1842, in which a similar instrumentation is spelled out: “four new violins, another old one, one large member of the violin family called a bass, one drum, four flutes, another new one, a French horn, a clarion trumpet, two triangles, one choir book with ten or eleven masses.”<sup>17</sup> Even at this late date

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Las letrillas en castilla las cantan por perfeccion, y aprenden con facilidad todo canto, que se les enseña, asi llano, como figurado; y desempeñan un coro, una Misa â voces, mas que sean papeles obligados; â todo esto les ayuda las [sic] voz clara, y el buen ohido que tienen todos, asi Hombres como Mujeres.” Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, Preguntas y Respuestas. 26 February, 1814. Mission San Antonio. “AIR. P. Presid<sup>o</sup> Fr. José Señán.” Several authors have translated the above-cited passage in their studies. The entire text of this document is reprinted along with an accompanying translation in the article by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., “Documents: Reply of Mission San Antonio to the Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812 Concerning the Native Culture of the Indians,” *The Americas*, vol. 10, no. 2 (October 1953): 211–27. Owen da Silva also translates most (but not all) of this document without supplying the original Spanish text in his *Mission Music*, 5. A translation that in many ways is closely related to da Silva’s version appears in Engelhardt’s *San Antonio*, 38–39. Unfortunately, the previous authors’ lack of familiarity with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music terminology has caused some substantial errors to have crept into their work and conclusions. These issues will be treated in depth in my forthcoming book on California mission music.

<sup>15</sup>For the most perceptive and persuasive discussion of “what constitutes an orchestra,” consult Neal Zaslaw, “When Is an Orchestra not an Orchestra?” *Early Music*, vol. 16, no. 4 (November 1988): 483–95; and John Spitzer, “The Birth of the Orchestra in Rome—An Iconographic Study,” *Early Music*, vol. 19, no. 1 (February 1991): 9–27.

<sup>16</sup>See María Antonia Virgil i Blanquet, “La música teatral en Valladolid en el siglo XVIII,” *Revista de musicología*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1985): 119–23; Xoan M. Carreira, “Recepción de la ópera italiana en Granada,” *Revista de musicología*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1990): 231–51; Andrea Bombi, “La música en las festividades del Palacio Real de Valencia en el siglo XVIII,” *Revista de musicología*, vol. 18, nos. 1–2 (1995): 175–228; and Mariano Pérez Prieto, “La capilla de música de la Catedral de Salamanca durante el período 1700–1750: historia y estructura,” *Revista de musicología*, vol. 18, nos. 1–2 (1995): 145–73.

<sup>17</sup>San Antonio de Padua, 1842, 4 violines nuevos, 1 idem viejo, 1 idem grande llamad bajo, 1 tambor, 4 flautas, 1 idem nueva, 1 trompa, 1 clarin, 2 triangulos, 1 libro de coro ya viejo con 10 u 11 misas. Original inventories are in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.” Quotation from Summers, “The Spanish Origins of California Mission Music,” 123, fn 7.

after many of the mission's valuable resources had been looted after secularization, we nevertheless see an instrument collection that reminds us of both Sancho's and Cabot's description in 1814 of music making at Mission San Antonio, and of the resources needed for Spanish Classical orchestras of the time. We find four to five violins (the standard), a pair of flutes and a few other brass and woodwinds, and much sparser low register—as we have already established, this top-dominated orchestration is a defining Classical feature. Significantly, the manuscripts that the ingenious musicological sleuth John Koegel discovered at Mission San Fernando (and which Bill Summers and I have both argued were in the possession previously of Juan Sancho) have instrumental requirements that could be met adequately by the Mission San Antonio inventory. Furthermore, it is not coincidental that this large stack of Classical-sounding music at Mission San Fernando also has intermixed with it many loose manuscript sheets in Sancho's handwriting and a fascinating bound book of opera airs (also with jottings in Sancho's hand in the "blank" measures)—a strong clue that this modern-sounding material resounded in the chapel of Mission San Antonio under Sancho's direction.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup>For extensive treatment of the Jerusalem Masses in the California missions, consult my articles: "The American Baroque: Recovering the Lost Musical Treasures of the New World," in *Creative Journeys* (Eugene, Oregon: Oregon Bach Festival, 1996), 53–56; "Hidden Structures and Sonorous Symmetries: Ignacio de Jerusalem's Concerted Masses in 18th-Century Mexico" in *Res musicae: Essays in Honor of James Pnett*, ed. by Paul R. Laird and Craig H. Russell (New York: Harmonie Park Press, 2001), 135–59; "The Mexican Cathedral Music of Sumaya and Jerusalem: Lost Treasures, Royal Roads, and New Worlds," a paper delivered at the *XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología* (Madrid, April 1992), published in the *Revista de musicología*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1993): 99–134; "Newly-Discovered Treasures from Colonial California: The Masses at the San Fernando Mission," a paper delivered at the 35th Annual Meeting of the College Music Society in San Diego, October 29–November 1, 1992, a revised version in *Inter-American Music Review*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Fall–Winter 1992): 5–10. I have edited and published the Kyrie and Gloria from Jerusalem's *Mass in F* at Mission San Fernando plus another Mass in that collection, the *Polychoral Mass in D*—that I attrib-

The *Interrogatorio's* response authored by Cabot and Sancho delves into the various styles prevalent at San Antonio and the other missions. As we have just seen, the orchestral resources that are mapped out (and the reinforcing evidence found in instrument inventories and the musical manuscripts) suggest that Sancho was performing the contemporaneous and stylish *estilo moderno* that was sweeping both Europe and the metropolitan centers in the New World.

But in addition to the implied *estilo moderno*, they mention two other styles by name, *canto llano* and *canto figurado*: "The Indian converts sing Spanish lyrics perfectly, and they easily learn every kind of singing that is taught to them, *canto llano* or plainchant as well as the metric singing of *canto figurado*." *Canto llano*, or "plainchant," was a style where all the notes were basically the same length (as opposed to proportionally lengthened or shortened depending on changes in the shape of the note heads), and that admitted no accompaniment or harmonizing, thus creating a monophonic texture. Even if an entire choir were performing, they would all sing the same melodic thread together and in the same way.<sup>19</sup> Ignacio Ramoneda, writing

ute to Jerusalem—through my publishing house: Russell Eds./541 Lilac Drive / Los Osos, CA 93402. Both full scores and piano-vocal reductions are available. The *Polychoral Mass in D* was recorded in spectacular fashion by Chanticleer on the compact disk *Mexican Baroque: Music From New Spain*, Chanticleer and Chanticleer Sinfonia, dir. by Joe Jennings (Hamburg: Teldec, 1994), Teldec 4509-93333-2. In addition, there is a study and score of Jerusalem's *Polychoral Mass in G* that exists in an incomplete set of parts at Mission Santa Bárbara, by George A. Harshbarger, "The Mass in G by Ignacio de Jerusalem." This Mass was recorded on *México Barroco*, vol. 1, "Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella y Francisco Delgado," Schola Cantorum y Conjunto de Cámara de la Ciudad de México, directed by Benjamín Juárez Echenique (Mexico City: Urtext Digital Classics, 1994), Urtext, UMA 2001. Also, consult Summers, "Opera seria in Spanish California." See also footnote 50 in Part I of this article.

<sup>19</sup>Nearly every Spanish theorist from the late Middle Ages forward includes a discussion of *canto llano*. For a superb summary of these theorists, with copious footnotes that facilitate further research, consult Francisco José León Tello, *Estudios de Historia de la Teoría Musical* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas e Instituto Español de Musicología—*continued*)



just a few years after Sancho's birth, defines *canto llano* as being a "simpler and regular delivery of the notes, of which one can neither lengthen nor shorten them. That is to say, the notes or notation symbols in this type of singing are of equal value and timing, without prolonging some shapes more than others, even though they appear different in their notated shapes."<sup>20</sup> *Canto figurado*, on the other hand, was harmonized and rhythmic in nature. This style most often lilted along with strings of "longs" and "shorts," written out in an antiquated system using the square and diamond note heads of the *breve* and *semibreve*. Once in a blue moon there might be a handful of the faster *minims* for a fleeting moment, but rapid-fire virtuosic passages are almost nonexistent (unlike the *estilo moderno* that demanded florid virtuosity). Furthermore, *canto figurado* implied "concerted performance," that is, the combining of voices and instruments together, as opposed to a purely vocal or purely instrumental performance.<sup>21</sup>

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logía, 1962), esp. the chapter "Teoría del canto llano," 403 ff. Of equal importance is his subsequent volume that emphasizes later theorists, which would be most applicable to the present study. See León Tello, *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974). In English, several useful sources of plainchant include David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958, reprint in paperback by Midland Books, 1990); and Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, The Norton Introduction to Music History Series (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978).

<sup>20</sup>"Una simple, è regular prolacion de notas, la qual no puede aumentarse, ni disminuirse. Quiere decir, que las Notas, ò Figuras cantables en este Canto, son de igual valor, y tiempo, sin detenerse mas en unas, que en otras, aunque sean diferentes en la figura." See Ignacio Ramoneda, *Arte de canto-llano en compendio breve, y método muy fácil* (Madrid: Pedro Marín, 1778), 3. Extant copy at the UC Berkeley Music Library, MT860.A2.R3 Case X. It should be observed that nowhere is *canto llano* limited to Gregorian chant, which is just one of several chant traditions; Mozarabic chant continued to play a role in the liturgy in New Spain up until the Mexican War of Independence.

<sup>21</sup>See León Tello, *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII*. Most theorists delve into this material, including: Pablo Nassarre, *Fragmentos músicos, repartidos en quatro tratados* . . . (Madrid: Joseph de Torres, 1700), vol. 1, facsimile ed., intro.

To these styles of *canto llano*, *canto figurado* and *estilo moderno* can be added yet another—the practice of performing a work "*a voces*," which means the work has separate, independent and interweaving melodic lines. The performance of a repertoire written "*a voces*" requires several well-trained performers who can read music at an advanced level and can stay on pitch even when others nearby are going in a myriad of directions. It also presupposes a societal structure where music education is organized and accessible, and where rehearsals are the expected norm for the preparation of almost any music performance. And lastly, performing "*a voces*" (sometimes called *canto de órgano*) was inherently rhythmic in nature with longs and shorts, much like *canto figurado*; however, those theorists who contrast *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano* in their discussions indicate that *canto figurado* is primarily homophonic in nature with a single thread, accompanied by subordinate chords, unlike *canto de órgano*, in which a web of polyphonic lines of equal interest all intertwine.<sup>22</sup> The *Interrogatorio* of Cabot and Sancho, then, verifies a critical detail that the music manuscripts alone do not prove—that the various styles were actively performed in the California missions. Were it not for the *Interrogatorio*, we might

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by Álvaro Zaldivar Gracia (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" y Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988), esp. 31; Andrés Lorente, *El por qué de la música, en que se contiene los quatro artes de ella, canto llano, canto de órgano, contrapunto, y composición* . . . (Alcalá de Henares, 1672); Jerónimo Romero de Ávila, *El arte de canto llano y órgano* . . . (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1761); and Antonio de la Cruz Brocarte, *Medula de la musica theorica cuya inspeccion manifiesta claramente la execucion de la Practica, en division de quatro discursos; en los quales se da exacta noticia de las cosas mas principales, que pertenecen al Canto llano, Canto de Organo, Contrapunto, y Composición* . . . (Salamanca: Eugenio Antonio García, 1707) M.875 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

<sup>22</sup>In addition to the theorists cited previously, also consult the exhaustive treatment provided by Pablo Nassarre in his treatise *Escuela Música según la práctica moderna, dividida en primera y segunda parte*, 2 vols. (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego de Larumbe, 1724), facsimile ed. (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" y Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1980).

imagine (incorrectly) that the music manuscripts were merely reference copies intended for personal inspection and the private reading pleasure of the friars. Instead, Cabot and Sancho tell us explicitly that monophony, homophony, and polyphony—and the intermingling of voices with instruments—all comprised part of the living musical experience in California.

### SANCHO'S DEATH

Sancho's last years were marked by considerable pain and discomfort brought about by a tumor that began growing in his thigh. Cabot relates the agonizing details in the last portion of Sancho's obituary.

Sancho lived these last ten years always in pain, caused no doubt by his daily chores and tasks. According to the medical specialists who observed his ailments and afflictions, they were caused by the accumulation of blood that they said had been brought to the surface. Finally, toward the end of this past November, completely possessed by this malady, which was an inflammation of the thigh that burst open with pus at the knee, and that years before had begun to abscess, accompanied by a constant fever, he surrendered to the enormous pain. He suffered for more than two months. During this time he confessed several times, taking the Holy Viaticum as was his duty, and he took the most Divine Sacrament [of Communion] devoutly. And on the 7<sup>th</sup> of this present month I administered the Last Rites, and the following day, at about three in the morning, he being completely conscious and aware—in spite of the exceedingly high fever—God called his soul to Himself in order to reward him (as we can believe) for so much Apostolic work. And we can consider his death a blessed one, as much for his poverty, as for his disinterest in the material things of this world, and for his ardent zeal for Religion and the spread of the Catholic Faith—to which he dedicated himself throughout his entire life, in both word and deed. And on the 9<sup>th</sup> (the same day that he took the habit of Our Holy Father Saint Francis, having served in the Order 39 years, and having lived

57 years, 2 months, and 7 days), I gave him an ecclesiastical burial in the presbytery of this church on the Gospel side [i.e., before the altar, and to the congregation's left], in the tomb closest to the center, with the bodies of the late Reverend Fathers Pujol and Sitjar between the wall and Father Sancho. And so that it may be recorded wherever it is required or may be required, I sign it, at this Mission of San Antonio de Padua on 11 February 1830. Friar Pedro Cabot.<sup>23</sup>

### MUSICAL EXAMPLES: THE "CREDO ARTANENSE" AND THE *MISA EN SOL*

It falls well beyond the scope of this article to address the corpus of works pertaining to Sancho and musical life at Mission San Antonio, but it nevertheless would be worthwhile to concentrate on two contrasting works and try to divine their

<sup>23</sup>The original passage is found in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, *Deaths. Mission San Antonio 1819-1872*. Vol. II, fols. 49v-50. "Estos 10, / ultimos años los vivió lleno de dolores, causados sin duda, de sus faenes / y tareas porque segun los facultativos, que en varios tiempos observa-/ren sus dolencias y achaques eran causados de la masa de la sangre / que; decian tenia quemada. Por fin a ultimos de Noviembre del proxi-/mo pasado poseído enteramente del mal, que fue una inflamacion / en un muslo q<sup>e</sup> se le rebento en podre en la rodilla, y que de años antes/ se le estaba formando postema, con una fiebre constante se rendió â / tantos dolores los que toleró, con todo sufrimiento por mas de 2 me-/ses, en cuya intervalo se confeso varias veces, a mas del S<sup>to</sup> Viatico / por precepto, se recibió el Divinisimo por devocion: y el Día 7 de este / presente mes administré la S<sup>ta</sup> Vncion y el dia siguiente / como â las tres de la mañana con el mayor conocimiento, â pesar / de la calentura tan fuerte, llamo Dios para si a su A.ma [Alma], para / premiarle, como podemos pensar tantas tareas Apostolicas: / ptre (?) dichosa podemos juzgar su muerte, tanto por su pobreza, como por / el desprendimiento de las cosas del mundo; ardiente zela de la Religion / y aumento de la fé catholica, como lo acredito toda su vida en obras, / y palabras: y el dia 9, dia en que recibió el habito de N. S. P. S. Fran<sup>co</sup> / y cumplía 39 años; y 57, 2 meses y 7 dias de edad; le di sepultura secular / en el presbiterio de esta Yglesia al lado del evangelio, en el sepulcro / mas al centro, quedando los cuerpos de los finados RR. PP. Pujol, y Sitjar; / entre la pared y dicho P. Sancho. Y para que conste donde convenia, ô / pueda convenio; lo firmo en esta mision de Sn Ant<sup>o</sup> de Padua en / 11 de Febrero de 1830. / Fr. Pedro Cabot." There is also a different translation by Engelhardt of this passage and the rest of the obituary in Engelhardt's *San Antonio*, 110-11.

musical secrets. Besides, a careful scrutiny of two works will have broad implications and ramifications for understanding the wider mission repertoire. The rather simple “Credo Artanense” tells us much of the accompanied *canto figurado* style that permeated mission practice during the early 1800s. The contrasting *Misa en sol* (*Mass in G*) at the Cecil H. Green Library at Stanford University sounds strikingly different with its Classical melodies and advanced harmonic vocabulary; arguably, it well might be the jewel of the mission repertoire.<sup>24</sup> These two highly differentiated works also make a fascinating case study, because the “Credo Artanense” is folded into the creed of the *Misa en sol*. These two works sound as different as Bach from Bono, but they actually share a good amount of musical genetic material.

One manuscript in the WPA Collection, folder 52, contains the “Credo Artanense,” a musical setting that Sancho might have learned as a child back in his hometown. (See Photo D.) At first blush this appears to be in plainchant with its antiquated appearance and “squared” shapes. In truth, it is in a style known as *canto figurado*, or “measured music,” in which there is a steady, foot-tapping pulse. The melody jaunts along in a steady meter with an implied accompaniment in the background, usually consisting of unobtrusive, strummed chords. At first glance it might appear that this melody is intended for a solo vocalist, but halfway through the Credo we find this to be an impossibility; the setting suddenly splits into two melodic lines at the text “Et incarnatus est, de Spiritu Sancto, ex Maria virgine et homo factus est (and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, and was made man);” thus requiring at least two singers. The “thickening” of the texture at that particular line of text produces a more sumptuous effect—the humanity of Christ-the-person is thus emphasized through more luxuriant and sensual sonorities that

appeal to “human” sensibilities. The texture then immediately thins back to a single melodic thread (with implied accompaniment) at the return of God’s sacred and non-human aspect. As the creed explores the crucifixion and the ascent into heaven, so the setting abandons the human sensuality of orotund polyphony and takes up the simpler, unadorned directness of the single line—a style that is associated with the Divine. There is one more passage that very briefly divides into a duet setting. Near the creed’s conclusion, we hear “Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum (I look for the resurrection of the dead).” The monophonic melody glides upward towards the divine when treating the “resurrection,” but at the arrival of the word “mortuorum” we are returned back to the context of the “worldly”—that is, the world of humans, death, and human sensibilities. Once again, the human “world” is considered pleasurable and sensual—yet flawed—and therefore is associated with the appealing richness of polyphony.

This textural association of lush polyphony with flawed humans (and a sparser texture of accompanied monody or *canto figurado* with the divine) goes back to the seventeenth century. In one of the groundbreaking studies of Spanish baroque theater music, Louise Stein brilliantly demonstrates that the “simpler” recitative style was reserved for gods and the godly on the Spanish stage, whereas the warmth of polyphonic textures was associated with humans.<sup>25</sup> Sensual temptation is human; unassuming simplicity is divine. The same tendencies apply, then, in the California missions as on the Spanish baroque stage. These textural shifts are exceedingly common in Credo settings found in Spain, Mexico, and California during the era. The “Credo Mar-

<sup>24</sup>Juan Sancho, “Mass in G (Mission Music), ca. 1795,” Cecil H. Green Library, Stanford University, M0573 in Special Collections. “Credo Artanense,” folder 52 in the WPA Collection.

<sup>25</sup>Louis K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, Oxford Monographs on Music (New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1993). It should be observed, however, that Stein emphasizes that rhythmic flexibility for a natural speech rhythm is part of the “divine” effect, and that particular aspect does not correspond closely to the mission style.

iano (vel imperiat)" in folder 67 of the WPA Collection has a similar shift from a single notated melody to a thickened three-voice texture with the words "Et incarnatus est . . . et homo factus est"—the same line that elicited a polyphonic treatment in the "Credo Artanense." Rather than expressing the "earthly" world of death at the word "mortuos" by a return to polyphony, as we saw in the "Credo Artanense," the "Credo Mariano" aptly turns our view to the pits of death by plummeting downward into the cellar; this is the lowest passage of the piece. Yet another example of word painting by the judicious insertion of polyphony occurs in the "Credo Dominical" in folder 68. Initially, a quick perusal of the setting as found on sheet W-3 of the folder leaves the impression that it is merely monophonic from beginning to end; there is only one notated melody. But there is an orphan phrase written at the bottom of sheet W-1, scribbled onto an available staff that previously had been "blank" music paper after the conclusion of the previous piece. This phrase, interestingly, bears the text "Et incarnatus est . . . et homo factus est." If this melodic line is sung simultaneously with the melody on sheet W-3, we obtain a beautiful filigree of independent counterpoint; the two voices are much more independent than the endless string of parallel thirds seen in many of the mission duet settings. Clearly, this is the "added" part they inserted to create a momentary excursion into the polyphony. In so doing, they reflect God's "humanity," precisely as we have seen with the "Credo Artanense" and the "Credo Mariano." And in yet another example, we find the "orphan" phrase "Et incarnatus est . . . et homo factus est" scrawled onto the back cover of the alto part for the "Credo Italiano" and its heading reads "1ra voz â Duo (First voice for the duet)." The fragmentary scrap seems out of place, since it has no companion phrase in the alto folder at all. But if we turn to the "coro" part in the same folder and add this isolated phrase to the appropriate location, we once again get a lovely duet in parallel thirds, with the "First voice" harmonizing the "coro" line a third higher. The trends here are consistent; in California, the Credo settings expanded in texture from single lines to duet or even trio combinations when the creed approached the sections dealing with the flaws of humanity or with death and mortality.



Photo D: "Credo Artanense" WPA 52. Courtesy of the Department of Music, University of California, Berkeley.

A shift to duple meter from triple meter also

subtly underscores the “human” aspect of the polyphonic passage, “and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, and was made man.” Ever since the *Ars Nova*, the use of triple meter—called *tempus perfectum* or “perfect time”—was associated with the perfect Trinity. The “three-ness” of recurring pulses was an audible manifestation of the divine “three-in-one.” Duple meter, on the other hand, was called *tempus imperfectum* or “imperfect time” since it was viewed as lacking something—the third beat to reach perfection. It is not coincidental then, that the “Credo Artanense” begins in “perfect” triple meter but then shifts to “imperfect” duple at the point where God’s incarnation as a *human* is explored. Humanity, after all, is imperfect. Appropriately, the meter shifts back to triple meter with a discussion of the crucifixion and resurrection. Once again, other California settings replicate this use of meter to reflect the imperfection of man and the perfection of the Divine Trinity. The “Credo Dominical, 6to tono” used in the *Misa de los Angeles* and the Credo in the *Misa en sol* both are set in triple meter with the exception of the single passage “Et incarnatus est . . . et homo factus est,” where the work shifts to duple or “imperfect” meter to reflect the human aspect of Jesus while on earth.

Other word painting occurs in the “Credo Artanense” as well, such as the long sequence that gradually winds down its slope for eight measures on the word “descendit de caelis (He descended from heaven)” and the falling line at “passus et sepultus est (He suffered and was buried),” or conversely, the euphoric rising melodic contours that soar upwards on the words “et resurrexit tertia die (and on the third day He rose again);” “Et ascendit in caelum (and He ascended into heaven);” and “et expecto resurrectionem . . . (and I look for the resurrection. . .).” Similar musical-rhetorical devices occur in the other Credos found in mission manuscripts.

The handwriting of the “Credo Artanense” is Sancho’s, and he even records the date of his copy

work: “Día 21 de Maio cerca las once de la n[oc]he acabo de escribirlo (The 21st of May, at about eleven o’clock at night, I have just finished writing this).” Even though this “Credo Artanense” was copied by him, it is highly unlikely that it was *composed* by him. In fact, this same tune is very similar—and often identical—to the “baix” or vocal bass line for a duet setting of a Credo, the “Credo à duo, 5. tono (Credo as a duet in mode 5).”<sup>26</sup> (See Photo E.) In addition to the “baix,” the other vocal line is a “tible” or soprano; and significantly, this melodic part is missing altogether in Sancho’s version. Two situations could explain its absence. Either Sancho originally wrote out this second vocal as well, and it has been misplaced sometime in the last two hundred years; or perhaps Sancho felt it was sufficient to perform this piece in a reduced version utilizing fewer performing resources, and thus copied out only the bass line.

The use of Catalán terms (*tible*, *baix*, *regulat*, etc.) strongly suggests that these sheets were written out in Mallorca and then obtained by Sancho before his departure from the island—and not acquired somewhere along his journeys through Mexico and Alta California, where the universal shared language was Castilian. During Sancho’s California period, he appears to have used Castilian to the exclusion of Catalán. As we have seen previously, the diary actually maps out this gradual shift in language preference.

A few other discrepancies between the “Credo Artanense” and the “Credo à duo” demand explanation. The latter’s calligraphy looks more modern with its use of “normal” notes shapes such as half notes and whole notes, as opposed to the Sancho autograph of the “Credo Artanense,” where he employs antiquated breves and semi-breves. However, the lettering of the “Credo à duo” in folder 51 reminds me more of documents

<sup>26</sup>“Credo a duo 5° tono, alternando con el Credo regulat,” photo c-s in folder 51 in the WPA Collection.

in the early and mid-eighteenth century. I suspect that this manuscript predates Sancho's by a few years or even decades and that when Sancho made his own copy of the "Credo Artanense," he was copying from a much older source.

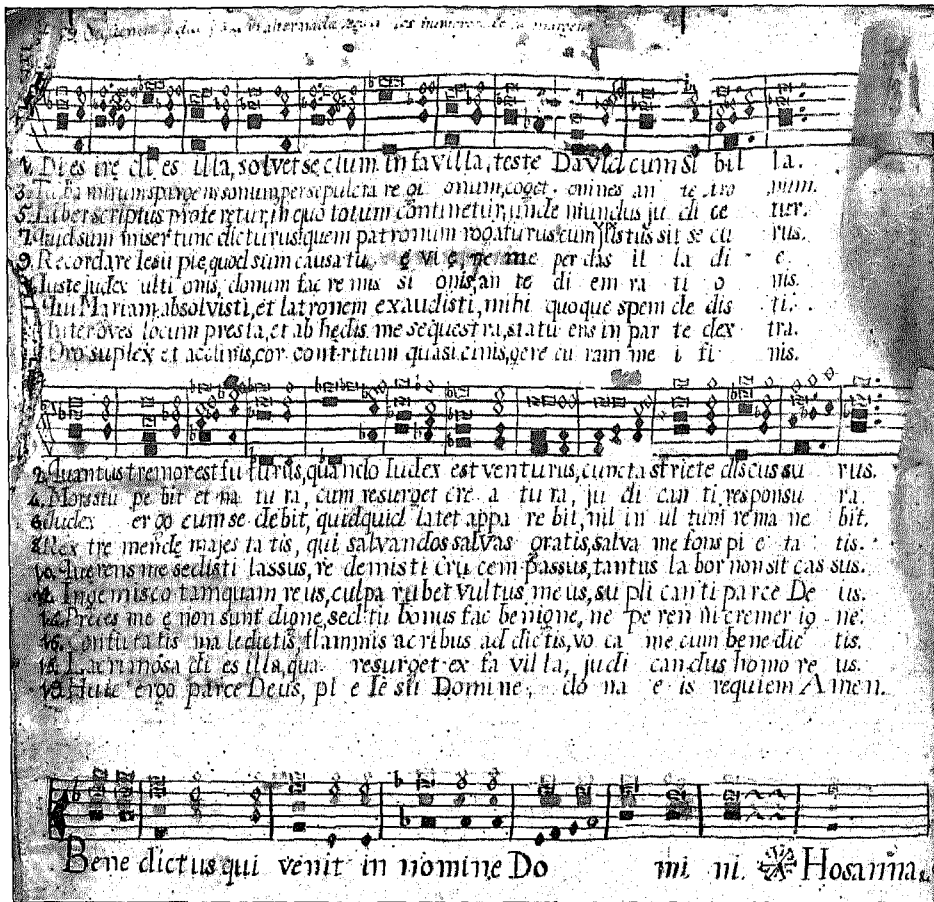
Furthermore, the two Credo settings found in folders 51 and 52 differ with regard to how much of the creed's text is set. "Credo à duo" in folder 51 only has half the phrases. It is missing every other line—much like the cogs and spaces on the rim of a wheel that is engineered to mesh with another gear—unmistakably indicating that an *alternatim* or alternating performance style is required where two completely different textures alternate back-and-forth. We can presume that the "missing" phrases were notated elsewhere (or memorized) and simply inserted at the appropriate moment, an impression that is strongly reinforced by the instructions on the soprano part next to the title:

"Credo à duo, 5. tono, alternando con el Credo Regulat (Credo in a duet setting, in mode 5, alternating with the 'regular' Credo)." The statement is partially enigmatic, for it is unclear just what constitutes the "regular" Credo. Perhaps it is one of the four or five well-known renditions in plainchant that have come down from antiquity to the present day, or perhaps it refers to a setting in measured *canto figurado*.<sup>27</sup> If the "missing" lines were in the *canto figurado* style, then we would hear resounding in the mission a series of phrases in which a duet (consisting of a soprano and bass) is periodically interrupted on every other phrase by a solo voice, accompanied by guitars. The aesthet-

<sup>27</sup>For the most common chant settings of the Credo, consult the *Liber Usualis, with an Introduction and Rubrics in English*, ed. by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: The Society of St. John the Evangelist and Desclée and Co., 1947), 64–73, 90–94.

Photo E: "Baix, Credo a duo" WPA 51. Courtesy of the Department of Music, University of California, Berkeley.





ic effect would be quite beautiful and alluring. But a word of caution is needed here; with respect to the California repertoire, it is quite perilous to try to arrive at a single “definitive version.” At the missions, *alternatim* performance was an almost daily occurrence, and they would mix and match various components to fill in the missing material—much like the multiple usable parts in the children’s toy Mr. Potato Head. If one is missing the “eyes” or “ears” to complete a face (or by extension, if a mission choir needs to find a “missing” phrase such “lumen de lumine” or “Et incarnatus est” in order to complete the Credo), there is a variety of usable parts rattling around in the toy box or mission archive. And with each new

choice for each subsequent performance, the permutations keep the repertoire fresh and ever changing. The most dramatic visual proof of this practice is found in Narciso Durán’s exquisite choir book that he wrote out at Mission San José in 1813. One folio has a “Dies irae” with musical flaps that can be raised and lowered so that one can select the musical phrase for the day at whim.<sup>28</sup> (See Photos F, G, and H.) One setting could be graphed as an alternation of phrases in the pattern A-B-A-B-A-B-A, etc. But if we lower a flap, we could get a new phrase “C” covering the “B” material beneath, creating a rendition A-C-A-C-A-C-A-C, etc. The top flap can be lowered, and we get even more permutations, depending on the position of the lower flap. And so this mix-and-match produces not one definitive version but instead a multitude of possibilities all based

on the alternation of contrasting sonorities.

In contrast to the “Credo à duo,” Sancho’s copy of the “Credo Artanense” in folder 52 replicates the *complete* text to the Credo—except for the opening incipit “Credo in unum Deum.” That melodic tidbit would have been intoned by the cantor at the beginning to set the piece in motion. In writing out this Credo, Sancho uti-

<sup>28</sup>The Bancroft Library, California Mission Choir Book, ms. C-C 59, unnumbered folio (which I label as folio E) immediately following p. 69. The permutations become even more varied if one allows insertions from the alternate sections of the “Dies irae” on p. 63 (a rhythmicized version of the recognizable plainchant setting) or p. 67 (where the odd phrases are written for two voices and the even phrases are for four).



1. Dies ire di es illa, solvet se clum in la villa, teste Davabum si bit la.  
 2. Tu mihi in spem ponis, in sepulchra re oi omni, cogit omnes an te tra m m.  
 3. Liber scriptus proferetur, in quo totum continetur, unde mundus ju di ce tur.  
 4. Quod sum miser tunc dicturus, quem patronum rogarus, cum sitis sit se cu rus.  
 5. Recordare lesu pie, quod sum causa tu. e mi e pe me per dis il la di c.  
 6. Iuste iudex ultio omis, domum fac re mis si omis, an te di em ra ti o mis.  
 7. Qui Mariam absolvisti, et latronem exaudisti, mihi quoque spem de dis ti.  
 8. Inter oves locum presta, et ab hedis me sequestra, statu ens in par te dex tra.  
 9. O supplex et acclinis, cor contritum quasi cinis, dere cu ram me i fi nis.  
 10. Quamvis memores sit tui, quando iudex est venturus, cuncta secrete discus su rus.  
 11. Monstu pe bit et na tu ra, cum resurget cre a tu ra, ju di can ti respon su ra.  
 12. Sed udes er op cum se debet, quidquid latet appa re bit, nil in ul tum re ma ne bit.  
 13. Rex tre mende majes ta tis, qui salvandos salvas gratis, salva me fons pi e ta tis.  
 14. Quereis me sedisti lassus, re de misti cry cem passus, tantus la bor non sit cas sus.  
 15. Ingemisco tamquam re us, culpa rubet vultus me us, su pli can ti par ce De us.  
 16. Preces me e non sunt digne, sed tu bonus fac be nigne, ne pe ren ni tre mer io ne.  
 17. Antu ta tis ma le dictis, flammis ac ribus ad dictis, vo ca me cum bene dic tis.  
 18. Laxa manosa di es illa, qua resurget ex fa villa, judi can dus ho mo re us.  
 19. Vultus ergo par ce De us, pi e le sti Do mi ne, do na e is re quem A men.

Bene dictus qui venit in nomine Do mi ni. Hosanna.

Photo F (opposite): "Dies irae" with all flaps up.

Photo G (left): "Dies irae" with flaps a and b down.

Photo H (below): "Dies irae" with flaps a and c down. All three photos are from the Durá choir book, C-C 59 fol. E (fol. 69bis) at The Bancroft Library. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1. Dies ire di es illa, solvet se clum in la villa, teste Davabum si bit la.  
 2. Tu mihi in spem ponis, in sepulchra re oi omni, cogit omnes an te tra m m.  
 3. Liber scriptus proferetur, in quo totum continetur, unde mundus ju di ce tur.  
 4. Quod sum miser tunc dicturus, quem patronum rogarus, cum sitis sit se cu rus.  
 5. Recordare lesu pie, quod sum causa tu. e mi e pe me per dis il la di c.  
 6. Iuste iudex ultio omis, domum fac re mis si omis, an te di em ra ti o mis.  
 7. Qui Mariam absolvisti, et latronem exaudisti, mihi quoque spem de dis ti.  
 8. Inter oves locum presta, et ab hedis me sequestra, statu ens in par te dex tra.  
 9. O supplex et acclinis, cor contritum quasi cinis, dere cu ram me i fi nis.  
 10. Quamvis memores sit tui, quando iudex est venturus, cuncta secrete discus su rus.  
 11. Monstu pe bit et na tu ra, cum resurget cre a tu ra, ju di can ti respon su ra.  
 12. Sed udes er op cum se debet, quidquid latet appa re bit, nil in ul tum re ma ne bit.  
 13. Rex tre mende majes ta tis, qui salvandos salvas gratis, salva me fons pi e ta tis.  
 14. Quereis me sedisti lassus, re de misti cry cem passus, tantus la bor non sit cas sus.  
 15. Ingemisco tamquam re us, culpa rubet vultus me us, su pli can ti par ce De us.  
 16. Preces me e non sunt digne, sed tu bonus fac be nigne, ne pe ren ni tre mer io ne.  
 17. Antu ta tis ma le dictis, flammis ac ribus ad dictis, vo ca me cum bene dic tis.  
 18. Laxa manosa di es illa, qua resurget ex fa villa, judi can dus ho mo re us.  
 19. Vultus ergo par ce De us, pi e le sti Do mi ne, do na e is re quem A men.

Bene dictus qui venit in nomine Do mi ni. Hosanna.



lizes double-bars with cross-hatching at the end of major phrases in order to emphasize the major structural divisions and stopping places. Those clear-cut demarcations of subsections in the “Credo Artanense” might similarly suggest some sort of *alternatim* performance that juxtaposes two different textures. After all, the phrases literally become visual “blocks” on the sheet, and their removal or replacement would be relatively easy to accomplish during performance.<sup>29</sup> If that is the case, then this particular voice that Sancho jots down in the “Credo Artanense” sings in *both* of the contrasting textures rather than being assigned exclusively to one or the other—hence the complete creed’s text. Many of the California manuscripts of *alternatim* performance have a voice, most often being the bass, that is “shared” between the two alternating groups and that therefore runs through the whole Credo text from start to finish.<sup>30</sup>

Brief mention should be made concerning the term “coro” as applied to these *alternatim* performances. The word “coro” (or “choir”) is jotted down almost exclusively over single-melody passages, while the words “duo” or “a3” occur in the polyphonic passages. This strongly suggests that the phrases cast as single melodic lines are performed by the entire group in unison (accompanied by chords in the instrumental combo), whereas the counterpoint sections very likely are

performed as chamber music with one vocalist per part. There is considerable evidence that very often sacred polyphony in Italy and the Hispano-American world was realized not by full choral resources but with one singer on each line; at the same time, plainchant was generally executed by the full choral resources.<sup>31</sup> The page, then, presents a visual impression that is counterintuitive to the actual sound that was echoing in the mission sanctuaries. The counterpoint *looks* richer, thicker, and heavier on the page due to the amount of ink on the paper, but the sonorities are not so calorie-laden since the number of performers is few. The choir’s notes, on the other hand, appear so small and paltry on the notated page, but the effect of their massive sound as they plunge in would be on a different scale altogether. Additionally, the choir’s homophonic passages *look* thin because the accompaniment is implied, not written. In short, the sonorities of the alternating sections are strikingly different, but there nevertheless is a sense of balance. The mass of the choir serves a sort of equalizing counterweight to the intriguing counterpoint of the soloists.

The treasure in Sancho’s repertoire is the remarkable *Misa en sol*, a work that exhibits the most advanced and contemporaneous features of Sancho’s output.<sup>32</sup> Of the Sancho manuscripts at Stanford that da Silva described in his 1941 pub-

<sup>29</sup>Spaniards often used double-bars to mark off blocks of music that could then be interchanged, replaced, rearranged, etc. For a discussion of this practice, consult Craig H. Russell and Astrid K. T. Russell, “El arte de recomposición en la música española para la guitarra barroca,” *Revista de musicología*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1982): 5–23; and Craig H. Russell, “Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981).

<sup>30</sup>The bass voice part notates both the chant and polyphonic passages in the Stanford copy of the *Misa en sol*; the “Credo Italiano, a duo con el coro (1796),” folder 66 of the WPA Collection; and the “Missa de Requiem, a 3 voces, 179,” folder 72 in the WPA Collection. It should be noted that in these cases the “alternation” is between textures but not necessarily between different groups of performers who are in opposition antiphonally.

<sup>31</sup>For studies concerning the performance of polyphony with one vocalist on a part, consult Jean Lionnet, “Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the Seventeenth Century,” *Early Music*, vol. 15, no. 1 (February 1987): 4–15; Luis Robledo, “Questions of Performance Practice in Philip III’s Chapel,” *Early Music*, vol. 22, no. 2 (May 1994): 198–220; and Richard Sherr, “Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel in the Sixteenth Century,” *Early Music*, vol. 15, no. 4 (November 1987): 453–62. Apparently, this same system was the norm in the California missions.

<sup>32</sup>Bill Summers has frequently mentioned the depth of quality in the *Misa en sol* and is largely responsible for the awakened interest in this work—especially given the fact that it is glossed over as a mere citation in da Silva’s *Mission Music* and therefore has escaped attention from the wider public. See Summers, “Fray Juan Bautista Sancho,” 9; and “Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources,” *Revista de musicología*, 284.

lication, *Mission Music of California*, this is the only one that has not disappeared; as we have seen, the other works fortunately exist in the photographic copies at the University of California, Berkeley.<sup>33</sup> How serendipitous that the most erudite and engaging work in the collection is the one piece that is still extant. The work has experienced a sort of revival, initially with the modern-day premiere by Harold C. Schmidt on April 7, 1991, and his reconstruction of the *Misa en sol* as part of the Stanford Centennial celebrations, and subsequently by the efforts of John Warren and the New World Baroque Orchestra (based in Paso Robles). They have furthered this composition's renown in California through their numerous performances of the *Misa en sol* across the state.<sup>34</sup> Their performance at the annual meeting of the California Mission Studies Association in San Luis Obispo on February 13, 2004, was the highlight of the conference.

This Mass's authorship, up to this point, has not been clearly established, especially since it is neither signed by Sancho nor is the extant copy at Stanford in Sancho's hand. However, once the various evidentiary clues are taken together, they

all point in the same direction—that Sancho is the likely composer and that he probably wrote it while on California soil. To begin with, the surviving manuscript was once part of the larger Sancho collection at Stanford (as described by da Silva), indicating it was at one time in his possession. Second, the *Misa en sol*'s Credo utilizes as a core element the “Credo Artanense,” the creed that Sancho certainly would have learned while growing up in that charming, isolated village of Artà. Actually, the *Misa en sol* does not replicate the entire *canto figurado* version of the “Credo Artanense” but instead selects every other phrase from this borrowed model and replaces the deleted phrases with new ones in a lavish four-voice arrangement. The title neatly inscribed over the Credo's beginning in the soprano part of the *Misa en sol* explains as much: “Credo in Mode 5, for 4 voices, alternating with the Credo from Artà.”<sup>35</sup> The number of mission padres who would have known a Credo from this remote geographic location is rather small—limited primarily to the Mallorcan contingency. Of course, the number of possible composers with a working knowledge of music in Artà increases if we consider the possibility that the music might have been composed in Mallorca and only later taken to California by Sancho. In that event, his role would be that of postman instead of composer. But several links argue against that scenario and instead suggest that Sancho played a larger role.

As I stated previously, the handwriting of the *Misa en sol* at Stanford does not match the highly distinctive qualities of Sancho's handwriting or of his music notation practices. At first blush that would appear to argue against it being a Sancho composition. However, I can now show that its

<sup>33</sup>Not every mission source at Stanford has vanished. Another manuscript that da Silva describes in the context of the Stanford Library is the choir book of Father Junípero Serra; see footnote 46 in Part I of this article.

<sup>34</sup>The information concerning Harold C. Schmidt's reconstruction of the Mass and his 1991 performance is found on the Stanford Library web site “Socrates” in the long display for Juan Sancho, “Mass in G (mission music), ca. 1795,” M.0573. John Warren and the New World Baroque Orchestra are some of the most ardent and hard-working advocates for California mission music, performing regularly across the state. They have done much to further the public's knowledge of the “García Manuscript” (also known as the Eleanor Hague manuscript) preserved at the Braun Research Library of the Southwest Museum. Another staple in their repertoire is Sancho's *Misa en sol*, which they play annually at Mission San Antonio and elsewhere. One can obtain access to Warren's transcribed score of Sancho's *Misa en sol* and a videotape of their 1999 performance at Mission San Antonio by consulting Cecil H. Green Research Library, Stanford University, Special Collections, M1100. The New World Baroque Orchestra can be reached at: New World Baroque Orchestra / PO Box 2121 / Paso Robles, CA 93447-2121.

<sup>35</sup>The title on the soprano page, sheet A-4, identifies the work as “Credo 5to tono á 4 voces, alternando con el Credo Artanense (Credo in Mode 5, for 4 voices, alternating with the Credo from Artà).” Similarly, the title on the bass page, sheet A-8 identifies the work as “Baja á 4 voces 5to tono, alternando con el Credo Artanense.”

gorgeous lettering and clear music notation show all the characteristics of another Mallorcan, and one who was Sancho's dearest and closest lifelong friend—Pedro Cabot. If we compare the lettering in Stanford's *Misa en sol* with a prayer board in the Smithsonian Institution that was obtained in the early 1850s from Mission San Antonio—Cabot's and Sancho's place of residence—we find the writing matches perfectly.<sup>36</sup> (See Figure 1 and Photos I, J, K, and L.) Richard E. Ahlborn discusses the prayer board, firmly establishing its provenance as being from Mission San Antonio. Alexander S. Taylor probably sent the item to the Smithsonian; it appears in its 1860 Annual Report. Ahlborn's article provides photographs of the front and back of the board, and he also observes that it is signed at the bottom by "P. Cabot" with the date of 1817. Now that Cabot's writing can be scrutinized, we can then identify other manuscripts and small snippets in the Sancho collections as being in the same laser-perfect hand of Pedro Cabot.<sup>37</sup> The existence of a man-

uscript copy of the *Misa en sol* in Cabot's hand actually strengthens the case for Sancho's author-

more widely spaced and feel rather open. The Cabot "m" is more closed, and often the outer pillars lean in toward the top slightly, as if they would make an "A"-frame if one lengthened the pen strokes. The Cabot "v" has the lower point slightly off-center to the left (making it appear as if it would gradually fall over to the right). The Ibáñez "v" is more symmetrical. The bottom loop of Cabot's letter "g" is fully closed quite often, whereas Ibáñez's "g" has a "swish" that begins the loop but never makes a final connecting closure—rather like a fancy fish-hook. The bottom foot of Cabot's "L" begins to expand out and widen much earlier than Ibáñez's "L," whose final stroke only widens at the far right extremity of the letter's foot. A consistent distinguishing detail involves the stems to letters "b," "d," "h," "l," "i," and "p." Whereas Ibáñez squares off the beam with another small dash that acts almost like a horizontal "hat," Cabot closes off the long beam of those letters with a steeply inclined stroke, giving the end of the beam a sort of spear point. We could continue, letter by letter, but we would only reinforce the same conclusion; the two have handwriting that is very similar but still distinguishable upon close examination.

Yet another tool can be used to ascertain the authorship of different sections in Santa Clara Mission Manuscript 3, and it has to do with page numbers. This choir book is inconsistent in its page numbering systems. It flip-flops back and forth between pagination (where one assigns a number to both the front and back of a sheet) and foliation (where only the right side of sheet gets the number and the back or "verso" side is left with no numerical identifier). This quizzical inconsistency would be of only minor importance, except that it is inherently intertwined with the changes in handwriting that permeate this source. As Ibáñez and Cabot trade off from one to the other in the manuscript, they often botch up the numbering system, either switching from pagination to foliation or vice versa. The choir book goes through the following changes. It begins using pagination until page 40, where we see a shift to foliation. For a brief moment, the scribe must have been "thinking" of the pagination system again since the foliation skips directly from "43" to "45." The verso side of "43" would thus serve as a "page 44." The numbering continues with fol. 45 (and an implied 45v), followed by fol. 46. What would have been side "46v" apparently simultaneously serves as "page 47" for the next page side is numbered "48." The verso side of this sheet is labeled "49"—as is the next recto sheet which similarly is numbered "49." These next sheets are numbered in foliation, continuing with the logical pattern fols. 49, [49v], 50, [50v], 51, [51v]. And not surprisingly, we have yet *another* shift to pagination for a singular moment: the side [51v] would serve as p. 52. The next sheet resumes with the number "53" and continues with foliation to the end of the choir book—except for one minor glitch. There are two unnumbered folios following fol. 82—which I therefore will call "fol. 82bis" and "fol. 82bis2." The book closes with folios 83 and 84. As has

<sup>36</sup>Consult Ahlborn, "The Mission San Antonio Prayer and Song Board"; see footnote 59 in Part I of this article.

<sup>37</sup>The WPA Collection at UC Berkeley has several works in Cabot's hand, including: "Gloria simple, 4. Tono" and "Gloria Pastorill. 5 tono," in folder 55; "Laboravi in genitu (a3)" and "O Christe, mundi salvator exaudi peces nostras (tono 6) alternando con el 'De profundis,'" in folder 60; and the *Misa en sol* (Mass in G), in folder 65. As we have seen, Cabot wrote out "Si milagros buscas" found in the *Artaserse* manuscript on fol. 6, lines 1–4. There are many examples of pieces written out by Cabot in Santa Clara Mission Manuscript No. 3 (which is No. 2 in Hoskins and No. 4 in Spearman). The main scribe is Florencio Ibáñez, as can be determined by the colophon: he apparently collaborated with Cabot in the construction of this choir book. The various sections can be attributed to one or the other through the careful inspection of their handwriting (which at times can be very similar). In general, Ibáñez's letters are larger and take up more of the available space than Cabot's. The change in script is most easily compared on p. 45 where Cabot has written the top half of the page and Ibáñez has written the lower half. Note the capital letter "S." Cabot has little "dashes" that are separate strokes and that close off the beginning and ending of the letter. Also it leans slightly to the right. The Ibáñez "S" leans slightly left. In fact, vertical lines lean gently to the left in Ibáñez's printing, whereas the gentle lean for Cabot is a slight incline to the right. The Ibáñez "m" has parallel pillars that are

"Prayer Board"  
National Anthropology Archives

"Misa en sol"  
Stanford & Berkeley

Music Manuscript No. 3  
Santa Clara Mission

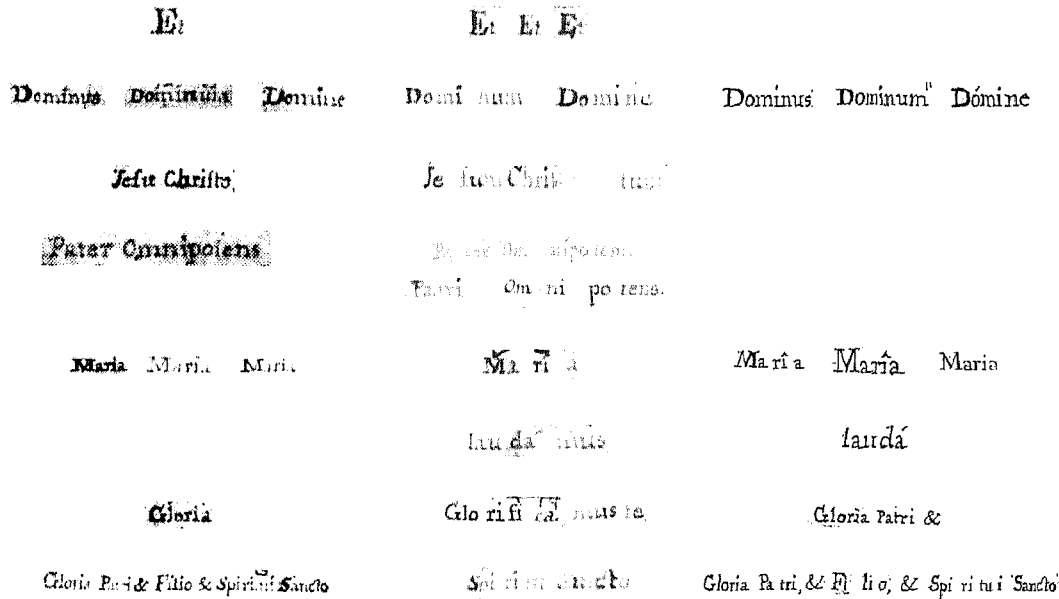


Figure 1: Comparison of Handwriting in Various "Cabot" Sources.

ship. It would not be the least bit surprising that a composition by Juan Sancho would be copied out in a clean, immaculate copy by Cabot, who not only was Sancho's close friend but also was a

been previously observed, there are also six unnumbered small sheets that have been sewn into the binding at the time of the book's creation. I have given those sheets letter designations (A, B, C . . .) to avoid even more confusion with yet another set of pagination/foliation numbers. Drawing together this complicated hodge-podge of numberings (and by using information gleaned from handwriting analysis), we can now conclude that Pedro Cabot wrote out the following material in Choir book 3: "Sanctorum omnium," small sheet A following p. 21; "Veni, veni Pater pauperum," the vocal line on p. 34, lines 9–10 (and probably the material on lines 5–8 that is written over older material that has been largely expunged); fols. 40–45 recto (but not 45v); fol. 50 (but not fol. 50v); "Lauda Sion Salvatorem," small sheets B and C following p. 48; small sheets D and E following p. 51; fol. 51v (which also serves as p. 52); small sheet F following fol. 51v (p. 52); fol. 82bis and fol. 82bis2, fol. 83.

trained professional scribe.<sup>38</sup> In all of these excerpts or manuscripts recorded by Cabot, we see the work of a true professional, not some novice scribbler.

Of course, it would be better if we were to find this Mass in Sancho's hand as well—and with respect to the Credo, we are in luck; the polyphonic portions of this movement exist in a Sancho autograph in the WPA Collection in folder 64, with a title page "Misa de 5<sup>to</sup> tono a 4 voces del P. Fr. Juan Bau<sup>ta</sup> Sancho (Mass in Mode 5 for

<sup>38</sup>Ahlborn observes that Cabot was known for "his work as a scribe." See Ahlborn, "The Mission San Antonio Prayer and Song Board," 14. Mention must be made of the difference between Cabot's cursive script (which can be seen in the baptismal and burial registries from Mission San Fernando) and his printed script, which he uses for music manuscripts and the prayer board in the Smithsonian.

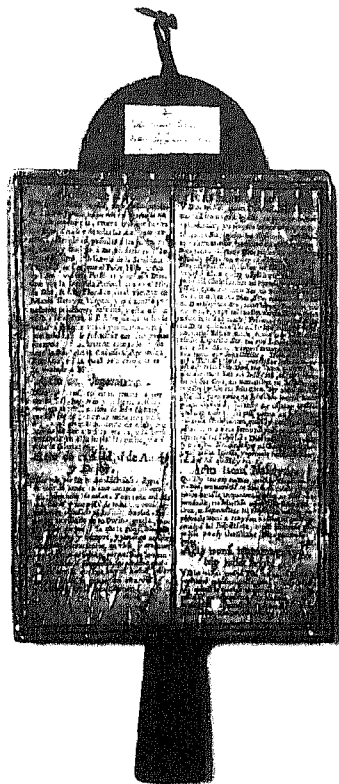


Photo I: Franciscan Prayer Board (front) from Mission San Antonio.

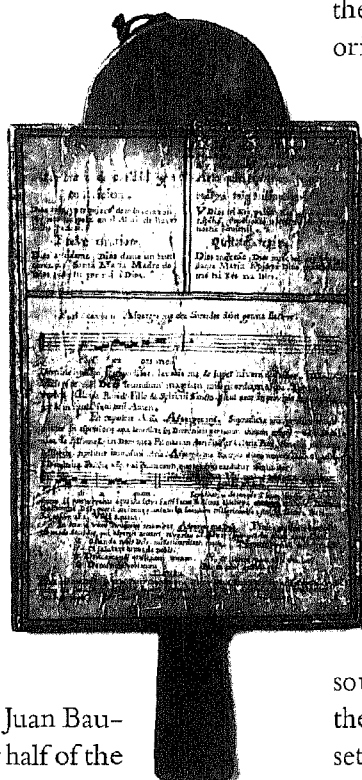


Photo J: Franciscan Prayer Board (reverse) from Mission San Antonio. Both photos courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Negative #s California 7-A (above) and (right) 7-B.

4 Voices by Father Friar Juan Bautista Sancho)."The other half of the piece—the actual "Credo Artanense" in *canto figurado* that alternates with the polyphonic four-voice material in folder 64—exists in Sancho's hand as well in folder 52, as previously noted. Thus we *do* have a complete manuscript copy in Sancho's hand of the Credo; the phrases in folders 52 and 64 become commingled into one performable movement. All that is needed to do is to alternate the phrases, going back and forth between these two manuscripts accordingly. Apparently, when Cabot wrote out the Credo in the Stanford manuscript, he took the same musical material that Sancho had written down, but he copied it in one con-

tinuous line, straight to the end. He preserved the textural changes of *alternatim* performance while alleviating the clumsy necessity of flipping back and forth between two different locations.

Admittedly, the various clues and indications in folder 64 of the WPA Collection create a real tangle of seemingly contradictory evidence that requires explanation before moving on. First, there is the question as to how many vocal parts originally comprised the Mass. The manila folder 64 that contains the photos has penciled annotations on its outside cover that classify the work as a duet setting. It identifies the contents: "Mass. Kyrie (tono 5to) à 2 / Gloria (tono 5to) à 2 / Credo (tono 5to) à 2." The recurring designation "a2" makes perfect sense in that the only performance parts in the folder are for two sopranos, "Tiple 1<sup>ro</sup>" and "Tiple 2o." The modern penciled annotation says one thing—but Sancho says another. He unmistakably implies that the Credo for this mass is for *four* voices, not two, when he writes the clarifying element "a 4 voces" on the title page of the continuo line to this work.<sup>39</sup> We can surmise that at one time there had been two lower-sounding parts to complete the foursome. This theory is confirmed, of course, by the concordant setting of the Credo found in the Stanford copy of the *Misa en sol*. Its resonant contrapuntal passages are for four voices, and significantly, the top two voices in the Stanford manuscript match the two high-sounding voices in folder 64 of the WPA Collection.<sup>40</sup> Undoubtedly, then, the only

<sup>39</sup>It is on the *acompañamiento* or basso continuo line (found on photo Ab-1 in Folder 70 in the WPA Collection) where Sancho states that the Credo is for four voices. Above the top staff he writes the title: "Misa de 5to tono à 4 voces del P./ Fr. Juan Bau[tis]ta Sancho." Also, there are problematic issues involving the number of actual voices required for the Kyrie in folder 64. I will deal with the continuo line and the Kyrie setting in the ensuing paragraphs of this article.

<sup>40</sup>Although the two top parts match in both settings, the second voice is labeled an alto in the Stanford copy.

reason for the penciled annotations on folder 64 that state the work is a duet setting (an erroneous view), is that the lower vocal parts have been lost, at least with regard to the Credo.

Even more tangles arise in folder 64. The next knot that needs to be untied and straightened out has to do with the authorship of the Kyrie. Should this movement be ascribed to Sancho, to Father Vic Torres (as Bill Summers has suggested), or to someone else altogether? Summers attributes this work to Vic Torres, probably because that name is folded into the title that is inscribed over the beginning of the Kyrie: “Tono 5º interpolando, digo, ô alternando con los Kyries â 4, voces del P. Vic. Torres.”<sup>41</sup> Granted, a quick gloss over the Spanish title can leave that impression, but I propose a translation that leads us in another direction: “Mass in mode 5, interpolating—that is to say, alternating—with the Kyries for 4 voices by Father Vic Torres.” On this sheet in folder 64, then, we do not have the actual four-voice setting of Vic Torres, but instead only the lines that alternate *with it*. Clearly, Torres’s Mass setting is written out elsewhere. As we have seen before, the mission style of setting long texts—such as the Credo, the Gloria, sequences, or hymns—was steeped in a tradition of contrast. Polyphony and homophony, or polyphony and monophony, could alternate back and forth, exploring dramatic contrast in textures in much the same way that the Baroque concerto grosso alternates large and small resources. In this Kyrie, then, Sancho has written out (and maybe even composed) the homophonic melodies, but not the polyphonic ones.<sup>42</sup> The alternation of this

homophonic thread in Sancho’s hand would make a splendid foil for phrases composed by Vic Torres in four-part harmony. The prospect of the two friars knowing each other and sharing in the creation of this work is even more enticing if this “Vic Torres” turns out to be one of the three “Vichs” or Buenaventura Torres who were Franciscan abbots in Palma during the same decade that Sancho resided there.<sup>43</sup> That would explain Sancho’s first-hand knowledge of a Kyrie setting composed by an obscure and hitherto unknown composer and its presence in the hinterlands of California—the furthest frontier of the Spanish Empire. That situation is not such a stretch if Sancho and “Vic Torres” befriended each other as friars at the Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma.

Authorship also becomes an issue with the Gloria in this folder. Actually, there is not so much one Gloria, but two—or rather, there is one setting (the “Gloria 5º tono”) that sets the even-numbered phrases, and another one (the “Gloria espacio”) that covers the odd-numbered phrases.<sup>44</sup> Together, they make it through the complete Gloria text, by drawing from one and then the other in *alternatim* performance. The slightly more ambitious odd-verses (“Et in terra pax bonae voluntatis,” “Benedicimus te,” “Glorificamus te,” etc.) might be Sancho’s work, given their structural and stylistic similarities to the *Missa de los Angeles* and other four-part settings in the San-

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the movements was a duet, since the settings of the Gloria and Credo occupy considerable space for the two vocalists. A careful reexamination of the manuscripts reveal, however, that only one soprano includes the Kyrie.

<sup>41</sup>Quote taken from the Kyrie on sheet L-3, folder 64 of the WPA Collection. Summers discusses the possible attribution of this work to Vic Torres and was the first to point out a plausible connection between “Vic Torres” and the Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma. Consult his articles “Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources,” *Revista de musicología*, 285; and “Fray Juan Bautista Sancho,” 11.

<sup>42</sup>To avoid potential confusion, I should address the penciled description on the outside of folder 64 in the WPA Collection that titles the work as a “Kyrie (a2).” This is a simple mistake where the cataloguer has jumped to the conclusion that each of

<sup>43</sup>For a discussion of these three individuals who share the same last name “Vich” see footnote 56 and for a discussion of Buenaventura Torres see footnote 57 in Part I of this article.

<sup>44</sup>Folder 64 of the WPA Collection has two different but interlocking Gloria settings. The odd-numbered verses (“Et in terra pax . . .,” “Benedicimus te,” “Glorificamus te,” “Dominus Deus Rex coelestis . . .,” etc.) are titled *Gloria 5º tono* and occur on pages L-4 (tiple 1º) and L-7 (tiple 2º). The even-numbered verses (“Laudamus te,” “Adoramus te,” “Gratias agimus tibi,” etc.) are titled *Gloria Esp[acio]* and occur on pages L-3 (tiple 1º). For the *Gloria Espacio*, there is no extant part second soprano (tiple 2º).



Photo K: "Gloria" from *Misa en sol*.

Photo L (opposite): "Credo" from *Misa en sol*.  
Both photos courtesy of Stanford University.

cho collections. The even-numbered phrases, however, are so brief as to be terse and are probably borrowed from a more antiquated model, since we find the same material in folder 63 labeled as "Parisiense Gloria."<sup>45</sup> Not only is there no plausible explanation why Sancho would compose a work and then associate it with Paris,

a place he had never visited nor expressed any affinity towards, but there are other works in the mission repertoire with the adjective "Parisiense" attached, indicating that there was a body of sacred music with a Parisian flavor or provenance.<sup>46</sup> In short, the "Gloria espacio" bears none of Sancho's fingerprints.

<sup>45</sup>The even-numbered verses of the "Gloria Esp[acio]" found on L-3 of folder 64 are concordant with the "Parisiense Gloria" on sheet I-3 of folder 63 (the relevant portions found at the very bottom of the page). For the version in folder 63, Sancho unfortunately ran out of space and had to leave off copying with the phrase "propter magnam gloriam. . ."

<sup>46</sup>There are several works in mission manuscripts that make refer-

**Baja.** à 4. Voces 5<sup>to</sup> tono, alternando con el Credo Artanense.

Pa trem Qui po tentem fac to rem Coe li & ter re vi si bi li um con si um  
& in vi si bi li um. Et in u num Do mi num Je suum Chri stum Fi li um  
De i Fi li um De i u ni ge ni tum. Et ex Pa tre na tum. Qui  
ma a se cur ta. De um de De o lu men de lu men De um verū de De o ve  
ro. Ge ni tum non fac tum con sus ta ti a lem Pa tri per uo cā ma ta ta a fuit.  
Qui pro p ter nos ho mi nes & pro p ter nos trā sa lu tem des  
cende de Coe lis. Et in car na tus est de Spi ri tu San cto ex Ma ri a Vir  
gine & Ho mo fac tus est. Cru ci fixus e ri am pro no bis sub Pon ti o fi  
to pas sus se pul tus est. Et re sur rexit ter ti a di e. se cū dum

To review our findings regarding putative authorship of the works in folder 64, we observe

ence to this title. A "Credo Parisiense à duo 6<sup>to</sup> tono" is found on p. 73 (pencil p. 92) of Mission San Juan Bautista, ms. 1 (Mission Music, ascribed to Padre Estevan Tapís), 16" x 12", 112 parchment leaves, red and black notes. In addition, there is a "Credo Parisiense" on fols. 16v–18v of the Serra choir book, M.0612, at Stanford. Da Silva provides a complete transcription of Serra's "Credo Parisiense" and a facsimile of fol. 17v. Black-and-white photographic facsimiles of both manuscripts can be found in the WPA Collection at Berkeley. The Mission San Juan Bautista ms. 1 is identified as item 45, and the Serra choir book is folder 47. For a complete citation regarding the manuscripts of the *Misa en sol*, see footnote 46 in Part I of this article.

that Sancho possibly crafted the following: the homophonic melody of the Kyrie (which alternated with a four-voice Kyrie by Vic Torres); the odd-numbered verses of the "Gloria 5<sup>to</sup> tono" (which alternated with the even-numbered verses of the "Gloria espacio" also written out in this folder); and the polyphonic odd-numbered verses of the Credo (which alternated with the homophonic melodies of the "Credo Artanense").

Another issue arises with respect to Sancho's headings and colophons in the WPA folders, and it has direct bearing on the putative authorship of



the *Misa en sol*. Sometimes he signs “del uso de Juan Bautista Sancho (for the use of Juan Bautista Sancho)” which is more of an *ex libris* than a sign of authorship.<sup>47</sup> However, for the title page in folder 70, Sancho opts to write “Misa . . . del P. Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho (Mass . . . of Juan Bautista Sancho)” —a different wording that conceivably could indicate one of two things: that he owned the manuscript or, on the other hand, that he actually composed the work. Although most Spanish publications utilized the preposition “por” (by) to denote authorship, there are a few examples of “de” being employed for the same purpose.<sup>48</sup> If Sancho’s use of “de” is meant to

denote authorship, then we have yet another piece of evidence supporting Sancho’s role as composer for the Credo to the *Misa en sol* (and maybe the rest of the work as well).

One issue alluded to previously is the idea of implied instrumental accompaniment. What is the likelihood that the *Misa en sol* utilized instruments in some way, and if so, where is the notated music—or was it completely improvised? History provides some contextual assistance in answering these questions. By the mid-1600s it was a rare sacred Mass setting in Spain that did not have a *basso seguente* or continuous instrumental bass line providing a solid music foundation for the upper harmonies and melodic filigree. That instruments are required for the *Misa en sol* is proven by the five measures of rest in all of the vocal parts at the beginning of the Sanctus. It seems improbable that this space would be occupied only by a bass line and some improvised chords, especially given the Classical bent of the vocal setting. The prevalent instrumental sonorities in Spain and her colonies from the Classic (and the *Misa en sol* falls squarely in that stylistic category) almost always had a small string orchestra consisting of two groups of violins (violins I and II), an accompaniment comprised of a cello or cellos, possibly a bass, and often a bassoon, plus improvising chordal instruments such as the organ, harp, or baroque guitar. A pair of horns also

<sup>47</sup>Some of the manuscripts in the WPA Collection that have Sancho’s designation of ownership with the words “del uso de . . .” include: “Ecos a Duo. / del uso de Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho. / Reg[ligio]so Observa[n]te. / 1797,” cover page, photo Z-1, folder 50; “Este pliego es del uso de Fr. Juan Sancho,” cover page, photo Y-1, and “Jesus, Maria, y Joseph. 1796. Esto es del uso de Fr. Juan Sâcho,” colophon on photo Y-3, folder 58; “Missa de Requiem, a 3 voces, 1796.” Has title page: “Missa de Requiem â3 voces/ et Laboravi â 3./ Es del uso de Fray Juan Bau[tis]ta/ Sancho Diaconos y Religioso/ Observante./ Año 1796,” title page, photo E-1, folder 72; and “Te Deum â 4 del uso de Fr. Jayme Pou. / pasó al uso del P<sup>e</sup> Fr. Juan Bau[tis]ta/ Sancho,” cover page, photo X-1, folder 77.

<sup>48</sup>If one peruses the *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, several patterns become clear. The preferred manner of ascribing authorship in Spanish publications is through the unambiguous terms: *por* (by); *compuesto por* (composed by); *dadas a luz* (published or brought to light); or *su autor* . . . (its author . . .). However, the following authors have the preposition *de* instead of *por* in their publications: *Diapason Instruativo* . . . *Carta a sus discípulos de Don Antonio Rodríguez de Hita* (Madrid: Viuda de Juan Muñoz, 1557 [sic, should be 1757]); *Arte de Música, theórica y practica, de Francisco de Montanos* (Valadolid: Diego Fernández de Cordova y Obiedo, 1592); and Tomás de Iriarte’s *Colección de obras en verso y en prosa de D. Tomás de Iriarte* (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1787). French publications follow similar practices with their preference for *par* rather than *de*. Only the Italians seem to have employed the preposition *di, da, dell’* (of) with frequent regularity. In the Madrid *Catálogo Musical* a large number of Italians are listed who use *di* to designate authorship, such as: Giovanni Maria Artusi, Filippo Bonani, Antonio Carbonchi, Giovanni Battista Doni, Fabio Colonna Linceo, Giovanni Battista Granata, Vincenzo Manfredini, Aurelio Marinati, Pietro Pontio Parmegiano, Vincenzo Riqueno, and Chioseffo Zarlino da Choggia. Spaniards who had their works published in Italy often followed the Italian

convention of using *of* instead of *by*, as can be seen in the following: Diego Ortiz’s treatise, *Il primo Libro de Diego Ortiz Tolletano, «Nel qual si tratta delle Glose sopra le Cadenze»* (Rome: Valerio e Luis Dorico, 1555); Stefano (Esteban de) Arteaga’s *Le Rivoluzioni del Teatro Musicale Italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente. Opera di Stefano Arteaga Madridense* (Bologna: Carlo Trenti, 1785); and Tomás de Iriarte’s *La música poema di D. Tomasso Iriarte* (Venice: Antonio Curti Q. Giacomo, 1789). Interestingly, the Madrid and Mexico City printings of Iriarte’s *La música poema* use the other preposition *por* instead of *de* that we see in the Italian release: *La música poema por D. Tomás Yriarte* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1779) and (Mexico City: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1785). See Higinio Anglés, Pbro. y José Subirá, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas e Instituto Español de Musicología, 1946–1951).

graces the texture, at least in the larger cathedrals, and paired oboes or flutes occur with great frequency. In some of the more thrilling works, clarion trumpets without valves also make their appearance. As we have already seen, these are the very instruments that existed at Mission San Antonio when they took inventory in 1842, and these are the instrumental resources needed to realize the Masses by Ignacio de Jerusalem and Francisco Javier García Fajer, known as “El Españolito,” that were part of the Sancho collection and are now housed at Mission San Fernando.<sup>49</sup> In addition, there is bountiful literature from the period written for two sopranos and two violins plus an *acompañamiento* of a cello (or bassoon), with additional chordal filling supplied by an improvising harpist—and often enriched by a baroque guitarist as well.<sup>50</sup> The opening Kyrie

and Gloria for two sopranos resemble greatly these duet settings, such as “A ti mi Jesús amado” or “Jesús mi dulce amor” from the Conservatorio de las Rosas in Morelia, or José de Nebra’s ambitious and ravishingly elegant *Miserere*.<sup>51</sup> In

<sup>49</sup>For information concerning Jerusalem’s and García Fajer’s works in the California missions, see footnote 50 in Part I of this article.

<sup>50</sup>The importance of guitar and harp in continuo realization is emphasized by many primary and secondary sources. Since Santa Bárbara was the only mission with a functioning organ, the baroque guitar and harp would have been the standard chordal instruments used to fill in the harmonies of the *acompañamiento* or basso continuo line at the California missions. In the Baroque and early Classical periods, some of the theorists who delve into aspects of continuo performance on harp or guitar include: Juan Carlos Amat, Gaspar Sanz, Santiago de Murcia, Joseph de Torres, Antonio Vargas y Guzmán, and Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz. Modern authors who examine continuo performance as explained in these treatises (and many with English translations of the original) include: Gerardo Arriaga, “El método de guitarra de Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán,” *Revista de musicología*, vol. 8, no. 1 (January–June 1985): 97–102; Cristina Azuma Rodrigues, “Les musiques de danse pour la guitare baroque en Espagne et en France (1660–1700), Essais d’étude comparative,” 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2000; Eloy Cruz, *La casa de los once muertos: historia y repertorio de la guitarra* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Escuela Nacional de Música, 1993); Rodrigo de Zayas, intro. and study of Gaspar Sanz’s *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española*, Serie “Los Guitarristas,” Colección Opera Omnia (Madrid y Sevilla: Editorial Alpuerto, [1985]); Juan José Escorza y José Antonio Robles-Cahero, “Dos tratados de música instrumental del siglo XVIII,” *Heterofonía*, vol. 7, no. 84 (January–March 1984): 63–64; Escorza y Robles-Cahero, *Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán’s “Explicación para tocar la guitarra de punteado por música o cifra, y reglas útiles para acompañar con ella la*

*parte del bajo* (Veracruz, 1776),” 3 vols. (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1986); Luis García Abrines, intro. and study of Gaspar Sanz’s *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1674, 1697; Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico” de la Excma. Diputación Provincial y el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1979); Monica Hall, “The Guitar Anthologies of Santiago de Murcia,” 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Open University [England], 1983; Paul Murphy, study and translation of José de Torres’s *Treatise of 1736: General Rules for Accompanying on the Organ, Harpsichord, and Harp, by Knowing Only How to Sing the Part, or a Bass in Canto Figurado* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Craig H. Russell, “Radical Innovations, Social Revolution, and the Baroque Guitar,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar*, ed. by Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 153–81; Craig H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia’s “Código Saldivar No. 4”: A Treasury of Guitar Music From Baroque Mexico*, 2 vols. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Craig H. Russell, “Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century”; [Robert Stevenson], “A Neglected Mexican Guitar Manual of 1776,” *Inter-American Music Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring–Summer, 1979): 205–10; Robert Stevenson, “Un olvidado manual mexicano de guitarra de 1776,” *Heterofonía*, vol. 8, no. 44 (September–October 1975): 5–9 and vol. 8, no. 45 (November–December, 1975): 5–9; Robert Strizich, *The Complete Guitar Works of Gaspar Sanz*, transcription and translation by R. Strizich (Saint-Nicolas, Quebec: Les Éditions Doberman-Yppan, 2000); and James Tyler, *The Early Guitar: A History and Handbook*, Early Music Series, no. 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).

<sup>51</sup>If one examines the catalogues for archives in Spain and Latin America, one comes across many works for 2 sopranos plus chamber accompaniment. Some of the works that stylistically resemble the *Misa en sol* would include Joseph Pérez’s “A ti mi Jesús amado” (1763) for 2 sopranos, 2 violins, flute, and basso continuo. Pérez was second organist in Orihuela, Spain. A manuscript copy of the work is preserved at the Conservatorio de las Rosas in Morelia, Mexico. Another duet at the Conservatorio is “Jesús mi dulce amor” (1767) for 2 sopranos, 2 violins and continuo. Ignacio de Jerusalem’s Responsory No. 7 (with the text “Felix namque”) from his *Maitines para la Virgen de Guadalupe* is also a duet for two sopranos plus chamber orchestra; its early Classic features are cut from the same cloth as Sancho’s *Misa en sol*. One of the most gorgeous works of the eighteenth century is José de Nebra’s *Miserere* that is now preserved in the Cathedral of Zaragoza. It features 2 sopranos, alternating concerted movements with plainchant set- (continued)



Photo M: Continuo line for "Gloria" and "Credo"  
WPA 70. Courtesy of the Department of Music,  
University of California, Berkeley.

short, we can assume that a small chamber orchestra accompanied the extant vocal parts of Sancho's *Misa en sol*. A pair of violins plus basso continuo is nearly obligatory, and an added pair of oboes or horns would be fully appropriate.

So where are the actual parts? As luck would have it, the continuo line for the Credo to Sancho's *Misa de 5<sup>to</sup> tono* (which is the same Credo that reappears in the *Misa en sol*) is tucked into folder 70.<sup>52</sup> (See Photo M.) And significantly, this

tings. There is a spectacular recording by Al Ayre Español under the direction of Eduardo López Banzo: *José de Nebra, Miserere and excerpts from «Iphigenia en Tracia»*, BMG and Deutsche Harmonia Mundi, 2001. CD 05472-77532-2.

<sup>52</sup>Actually, folder 70 contains the continuo for two movements (the Gloria and the Credo) from the Mass in folder 64, the "*Misa de 5<sup>to</sup> tono*." Only the Credo corresponds to the music of the *Misa en sol*; the Gloria from folder 64 is a completely different setting than the one in the *Misa en sol*. Sheet Ab-2 of folder 70 has the heading: "Acopio de la gloria 5<sup>to</sup> tono. a 4. voces. y el Credo tambe a 4. voces." There is a rare copying error in measure 1 of the Gloria, where the entire passage is written a third too low; the error is rectified by m. 2.

continuo part is in Juan Sancho's hand, yet another piece of evidence supporting the view that he could be the composer. This makes the third major element that is a Sancho autograph, along with the homophonic lines in the "Credo Artanense" (folder 51) and the polyphonic lines in the "Credo de 5<sup>to</sup> tono" (folder 64).

The presumed violin parts and the continuo line for the other movements are still missing—but that is also true of much of the concerted music in California sources. For instance, some of the instrumental performance parts are missing from Jerusalem's *Mass in D*, his *Polychoral Mass in*

D, and his *Mass in F*, as well as García Fajer's *Mass in D*.<sup>53</sup> The same is true regarding Jerusalem's *Polychoral Mass in G* preserved at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, it would hardly be extraordinary if a putative collection of instrumental parts for the *Misa en sol* were now incomplete or lost.

Yet another clue that argues for Sancho's authorship has to do with the level of musical training needed to compose such a work. Granted, every single mission padre was proficient in singing Mass, Vespers, Matins, etc. It was a critical and central feature of "God's work" as practiced in the monastic orders. Additionally, the Franciscans learned early on—going back to Pedro de Gante and his music activities in Aztec Mexico—that music was an essential and effective tool for the conversion of the native populations.<sup>55</sup> So with respect to standard music-making, every one of them was proficient (just as they had to be proficient in agriculture, animal husbandry, architecture, construction, civil engineering, theology, language translation, etc.). But the *Misa en sol* is not stock musical material simply grabbed from the Wal-Mart discount shelf. Whoever wrote the *Misa en sol* was a true professional—thoroughly trained in harmony and notation, erudite, accomplished, astoundingly well versed in recent Classical trends, and virtuosic in compositional skill.

<sup>53</sup>The continuo line is missing for all of these Masses. Additionally, the violin 1 part is absent from Jerusalem's *Mass in F*; the violin 2 part, however, is still extant.

<sup>54</sup>The chuckholes afflicting the extant parts of Jerusalem's *Polychoral Mass in G* at Santa Bárbara are even more severe. Using concordant sources of the same composition in the Mexico City Cathedral, George Harshbarger successfully filled in the missing pieces so that the whole work is now pieced together using Jerusalem's original material. See Harshbarger, "The Mass in G by Ignacio de Jerusalem."

<sup>55</sup>For a thorough discussion of de Gante and his pedagogical role in sixteenth century Mexico, see Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 38–39, 111–119; Robert M. Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), 19, 34–35, 52–58, 62, 83, 264; and da Silva, *Mission Music*, 3–4.

Looking at the California padres who could fit the bill, we must trim the list to a mere handful of candidates. Narciso Durán was a superb musician, but there is little evidence that he ever composed (in spite of the conjectural assertions made by da Silva and others).<sup>56</sup> Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta was probably the best ethnomusicologist of the bunch, but his interests and skills fall in the realm of Native American traditions more than Classical composition. Father Tapís must be included in the top-five of mission musicians of California, but once again there is no inkling that he composed. Only Ibáñez has a music pedigree comparable to Sancho's.<sup>57</sup> A chapel master in Spain was required to dash off *villancicos* for important church holidays, and once used, these works were not to be repeated in subsequent years. Ibáñez, then, must have had professional training and experience in crafting new works. He is not the likely composer of this *Misa en sol*, though, given the conspicuous inclusion of the tune from Artà and the fact that all of the extant manuscripts are in Sancho's and Cabot's hand—not that of Ibáñez.

One remaining possibility needs to be examined before concluding that Sancho is the probable author: perhaps the *Misa en sol* was the work of a fellow-Mallorcan (hence the familiarity with Artà), composed before Sancho's departure for the New World. After all, Palma had spectacular music, and the pool of highly trained artisans capable of crafting such a splendid work is rather

<sup>56</sup>Although da Silva argues that the most probable composer of the *Misa Viscalina* and the *Misa de Cataluña* was Narciso Durán, he presents no real evidence for the claim. In the preface to his choir book, Durán makes it clear that he is "practical" in his approach and is not professionally trained; nowhere does he imply he composed. Summers has called into question da Silva's view. Drawing upon the recent research of Jon Bagüés Erriondo, Summers presents the find that the *Misa Viscalina* is actually by Martín de Crucelaegui. See Summers, "The *Misa Viscalina*," 134; and Jon Bagüés Erriondo, *La música en la Real Sociada [sic] Bascongada de los Amigos del País* (Donostia-San Sebastián: Izarberri, 1990), 1: 88–92.

<sup>57</sup>For Ibáñez's qualifications, see footnote 39 in Part I of this article.

large. It was not mired in a stagnant backwater, but instead was swimming in the mainstream of contemporary styles and trends ever since the late 1600s, as demonstrated by the success of her native musicians at the prestigious Royal Chapel in Madrid.<sup>58</sup> We have already established that Sancho was habitually copying music while at the Convent de Sant Francesc; this might be yet another instance.

So the question arises, did Sancho compose the *Misa en sol*, or did he merely copy out components of its Credo before embarking for his new life in California? I would argue that the latter possibility is unlikely, for the following reasons. First, although we can prove Sancho was copying music on a regular basis while at the Convent de Sant Francesc, that is not the case with Cabot. We have no known music manuscript by Cabot from his years in Mallorca. However, there are several music manuscripts in California that bear his gorgeous script, such as “Si milagros buscas” in the *Artaserse* manuscript at San Fernando, and many folios in the Ibáñez choir book at Mission Santa Clara.<sup>59</sup> Clearly, Cabot was actively involved as a music copiest when he was in California; the most likely scenario, then, would have Cabot making his immaculate copy of the *Misa en sol*, after his arrival in California, not before. That makes perfect sense if Sancho is the composer, especially if he actually created the work while at Mission San Antonio: what more noble task for a professional scribe (and Cabot was as good as they came) than to make a spotless and elegant copy of the most masterful work by his best friend.

And there is an enticing clue that strongly suggests this Mass was composed in a California mis-

sion—as opposed to a Spanish convent. In the *Artaserse* notebook at Mission San Fernando, there are numerous examples of short pieces or even fragmentary passages jotted down in “blank” staves by Juan Sancho.<sup>60</sup> On folio 14, line 8, of this book, one finds in Sancho’s handwriting a catchy and memorable setting of the line from the Gloria, “quoniam tu solus.” (See Figure 2.) At first glance, this snippet could appear to be a sketch of a melodic idea in its early conception, much like the birthing of tunes seen in the Beethoven sketchbooks. It turns out, however, that this is a literal quotation from the *Misa de S[an] Antonio*, 6<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup> in the Durán choir book, which occurs elsewhere in Santa Clara Mission Manuscript 4 under the title *Misa Solemne*, 6<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>.<sup>61</sup> This short quotation reveals to us that the particular passage is in the musical repertoire (and in the personal imagination) of our friar, Juan Sancho. If we take this brief setting and compare its rhythmic and melodic features with the same exact words in the *Misa en sol*, we find them to be identical twins. It is not simply that the two versions have some similarities; rather, it is an instance where the same exact

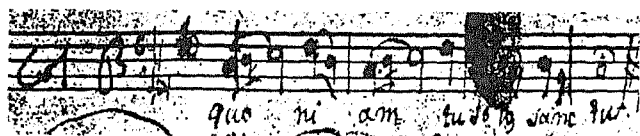
<sup>60</sup>Technically, some of the staves are not so much “empty” as not utilized. The book is in score format, so when a particular instrument does not play in a given measure, either there is nothing at all written down in that location, or there is a whole rest. In either case, there is plenty of vacant space. Sancho carefully writes his added material in such a way that the original rest is clearly visible: no material has been covered over. As William Summers has observed in his thorough investigation and study of this source, this procedure is a clever way for Sancho to obtain more scratch paper (a valuable commodity in the mission system). See Summers, “*Opera seria* in Spanish California.”

<sup>61</sup>The phrase “Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe” is found in the *Artaserse* manuscript at Mission San Fernando in fol. 14, line 8. It is a direct quotation from the *Misa de S[an] Antonio*, 6<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup> in the Durán choir book, identified as “Choir book in Gregorian form: ms., 1813 / by Fr. Narciso Durán for use of the neophytes of Mission San Jose,” ms. C-C 59 at The Bancroft Library, p. 51, line 12. This is concordant with the same line as written down in the *Missa Solemne* 6<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup> in Santa Clara Mission Manuscript No. 4 (which is Manuscript No. 1 in both the Hoskin and Spearman books). The phrase in question is found on p. 52, lines 8–9.

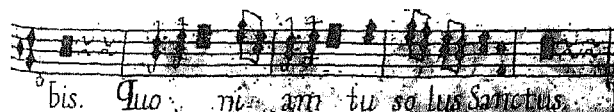
<sup>58</sup>That Mallorca was up-to-date is evident by the great success enjoyed by Gabriel and Francisco Gueráu and Antonio Literes at the Royal Chapel in Madrid. See footnote 40 in Part I of this article.

<sup>59</sup>For the examples of musical pieces in Cabot’s handwriting, see footnotes 8 and 37 in this article.

Example 2  
 "Quoniam tu solus" in California manuscripts



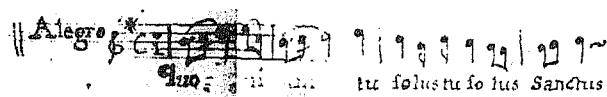
Artaserse manuscript, As-3



Durán choirbook, C-C-59

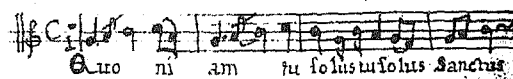


Santa Clara Mission Ms. 4



Soprano 1

Stanford University Ms. M0537



Soprano 2



Soprano 1

Soprano 2

Transcription of Stanford Un. Ms. M0537

Figure 2: "Quoniam tu solus" in California Manuscripts.

musical features are used to set the same exact words in the same liturgical context. Excluding key centers, they are twins. I would argue, then, that the composer of the *Misa en sol* knew intimately well the repertoire used in the California missions and that he then replicated a memorable feature in the Gloria (either consciously or unconsciously) while hammering out the details of the newly-created *Misa en sol*. That detail argues emphatically for composition of the piece in California—and there is no more likely candidate for composer than Sancho.

If we briefly review the evidence so far collected, we find quite a string of arguments that point towards Sancho's authorship of the *Misa en sol*: 1) The various manuscripts containing this composition and concordant material are all part of Sancho's music manuscript collection that had been in his possession at Mission San Antonio during that mission's heyday; 2) the Stanford copy of the complete Mass (also found in folder 65 in the WPA Collection at Berkeley) is in the hand of Sancho's dearest friend, Pedro Cabot; 3) three different folders in the WPA Collection contain

material for the *Misa en sol*'s Credo, all of them in Juan Sancho's handwriting; 4) there is an intimate musical link to the rather obscure village of Artà, Sancho's hometown; 5) Sancho possibly alludes to his authorship of the Credo when he states on the title page that the composition is "del P. Fr. Juan Bau[tis]ta Sancho (...of/by Father Friar Juan Bautista Sancho)"; 6) the musical material at the text "Quoniam tu solus" strongly links the composer of this work to California soil. The clues are like the trusses on a well-engineered bridge. In isolation, the various struts support very little weight by themselves, but when fastened together they can support hundreds of tons. Similarly, these various clues can almost feel circumstantial if taken one at a time, but when fused together in one cohesive argument, they support the weighty conclusion that the *Misa en sol* in the Stanford Library is probably the artistic creation of Juan Bautista Sancho.<sup>62</sup>

A detailed analysis of the work will have to wait for another day—but a few comments regarding the style of the work are in order and might pique the reader's interest. The Kyrie and the Gloria fall within the tradition of soprano-duet settings that were extremely popular in Spanish liturgical music of the Classic era. The Gloria reminds us of other contemporary settings in its textual and musical subdivisions. Instead of creating a single movement that has to deal with a plethora of contrasting emotions and textual meanings, the various aspects are subdivided into smaller "numbers" that can stand alone as miniature, self-contained movements—in much the way that

Bach subdivides his text in the *Mass in B-minor* or Mozart in his *Requiem*. Each of the numbers has a contrasting tempo, meter, and character, providing the listener with a broad palette of emotional colors and landscapes. The work is Classic in nearly every aspect.

Rests break up the phrasing so that lines do not spin onward with no cadence in sight (unlike high Baroque compositions). There is a wide variety of surface rhythms where long notes can be followed by short ones; triplets can give way to rapid sixteenth notes, and those in turn can be transformed into dotted rhythms. This varied spectrum of rhythmic phrasing is a Classical—rather than a Baroque—aspect. The harmonic rhythm (the speed of the chord changes) is much slower than that found in late-Baroque compositions, indicating once again that the composer of the *Misa en sol* was at the forefront of musical styles as they were evolving in Europe and the fashionable centers of the Hispano-American world. The core harmonies of tonic, subdominant, and dominant (I, IV, and V) prevail, but there are momentary flashes of harmonic daring, especially in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. The general textural feel is somewhat light, almost translucent, reminding us more of Mozart (or at times Schubert) than of Schutz and Bach. A wealth of articulations provides a salad of contrasting phrasings; once again, we see the stamp of Classicism as opposed to the consistent unity of emotion and presentation found in Baroque Mass movements. The texture is top-dominated where higher sonorities prevail; the lower registers are subordinate and support the filigree in the ethereal sopranos.

The *Misa en sol*, then, provides a shocking discovery; its unveiling reveals not the sonorities of some antiquated tradition but a full-blown Classical work, probably authored on California soil, well ahead of any equivalent composition in the British colonies on the East Coast. And we can

<sup>62</sup>The relevant phrase, "Quoniam tu solus sanctus," in the *Misa en sol* is found in the Stanford Ms. M0573 in the 1st soprano part, p. 3, lines 4–5 and in the 2nd soprano part, p. 3, line 6. There are corresponding photos of these same pages from the Stanford source in the WPA folder 65 (photos A-3 and A-10, respectively). As has been mentioned, this melodic motif is heavily reminiscent of the "Quoniam" in the following sources: the *Artaserse* manuscript, As-3; the Durán choir book C-C 59; and the Santa Clara Mission Manuscript No. 4.

attribute this masterpiece to one of the most fascinating figures in America's past. Discovery of Juan Sancho's family background, traced back through many generations, makes his artistic triumph logical and understandable, for his relatives were professional musicians of high standing. The legacy of music sources he left behind have proven invaluable in reconstructing the musical atmosphere and repertoire of both the California missions in the early 1800s and of the Franciscan convents in Spain at the end of the eighteenth century. Additionally, previous authors have long praised Sancho's accomplishments in engineering, languages, irrigation, construction, and ministry; with the discovery of his diary and his translation of the Last Rites, these general observations can now be scrutinized in even greater detail. In short, a portrait of this friar and the study of his diligent labors illustrates that the California missions were blessed with one of the most admirable, talented, and fascinating figures to have played a role in American history—hats off to the incomparable Juan Bautista Sancho!

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